

A N
I N Q U I R Y
Into the SHARE, which
King *CHARLES I.*
HAD IN THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Earl of *GLAMORGAN,*

Afterwards Marquis of *Worcester,*

For bringing over a Body of *Irish Rebels*
to assist that KING, in the Years 1645
and 1646.

In which Mr. *CARTE*'s imperfect Account of that
Affair, and his Use of the MS. Memoirs of the Pope's
Nuncio *RINUCCINI*, are impartially considered.

The whole drawn up from the BEST AUTHORITIES
Printed and Manuscript.

The SECOND EDITION;
To which is added an APPENDIX, containing
several Letters of the KING to the Earl of *GLA-*
MORGAN, from the Originals in the Harleian Li-
brary of Manuscripts.

L O N D O N:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*.
MDCC LVI.

P R E F A C E.

THE point of history, which is the subject of the following Inquiry, is so important, that no apology will be necessary for an attempt to set it in a fuller light, than it has hitherto appeared in. And it is to be hoped, that the zeal for a royal character of the last age is not at present so extravagant, as to resent a candid discussion of a fact, merely because it may tend to the diminution of a Prince, whose sufferings have thrown a veil over his faults, whilst the confusions, which followed his death, have inclined men to forget or excuse them. But this is a consideration, which can have no weight with any, who understand the rights of History, and the reverence due to Truth superior to all personal regards. In pursuance of this principle the present Inquiry is offered to the world, founded, as it is, upon a faithful deduction of the best authorities and evidences, which the distance of time, and the nature of such secret transactions, have suffered to come down to us. The amplest materials are ex-

*tracted from a manuscript in the valuable library of the right honourable Thomas Earl of Leicester, transcribed from the original in the possession of the family of Rinuccini at Florence. This manuscript contains memoirs of John Battista Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, the Pope's Nuncio in Ireland in 1645, and the following years; and is intitled, De Hæresis Anglicanæ intrusione et progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad annum 1641 in Hiberniâ cœpto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto, Commentarius. It was written after the Nuncio's death by an Irish Priest, who was employed by Thomas Battista Rinuccini, great Chamberlain to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to digest his brother's papers, and reduce them into the form of a narration. The writer of the Life of James, the first Duke of Ormonde, in p. v. of the Preface to that work, gives him this character; "That he appears always to have
 " a great regard for truth, and to be very
 " fair and candid in his relation of occurrences. These he generally takes out of the
 " letters and accounts sent to the Nuncio, as
 " events happened, by those concerned in
 " them; and there are no more of these relations,*

"lations, than are absolutely necessary to
 "connect the several letters of the Nuncio to
 "the court of Rome, and the many papers
 "and memorials which passed in the disputes
 "between that Minister and the Supreme
 "Council; which he translates faithfully
 "into Latin." Whether that gentleman has
 made a proper use of these Memoirs, and of
 the other materials in his power, particularly
 of the Earl of Glamorgan's letters, which
 he has totally omitted in his collection; and
 whether he has a sufficient foundation for his
 assertion, that the King was intirely innocent
 of the Earl's negotiations with the Irish
 Rebels and the Nuncio, which were so dan-
 gerous to the Protestant Religion; and that
 all the commissions and letters produced by
 that nobleman, as authorities from his Ma-
 jesty, were mere forgeries of his Lordship;
 must be left to the judgment of those, who
 shall compare the first volume of his work
 with the present performance, and who will
 perhaps be inclined to think, that the Mystery
 of Glamorgan's peace and his punishment,
 concerning which Arthur the first Earl of
 Anglesea desired information of the Duke of
 Ormonde, in a letter written in the latter
 end

end of the year 1681 *, is now sufficiently cleared up.

If, after all, it should be urged in justification of the King's conduct in this point, that in a state of war and violence, he was intitled to all means for the recovery of what he thought his Rights; it may justly be answered, that a good Man will always scruple the use of some means, however just his cause may be: That a good Prince will never prosecute his Regal Rights by such methods as tend to the inevitable ruin of his country: And that a good Protestant will abhor the re-establishment of his civil authority, by indangering the safety of his own religion throughout his dominions.

I shall detain the reader with but one remark more; that the publication of the following Inquiry can never be thought unseasonable, much less in the present situation of our affairs; since it tends to keep up a just alarm of the restless and incroaching spirit of Popery,

* This letter, with one of the Duke of Ormonde, to which it was an answer, was printed at London, 1682, in two sheets in fol. See likewise *Biographia Britannica*, Vol. I. Article *Annesley*, p. 155.

Popery, which we see ready, upon all occasions, to excite or heighten the public confusions, by fomenting Rebellion at one time, and courting and exalting the Prerogative at another, as best suits its main design of establishing the most absolute tyranny over the conscience and reason of mankind.

POSTSCRIPT,

Concerning this Second Edition.

IT will be proper to inform the reader, that the following INQUIRY is, in the present edition, exactly reprinted from the former published in May 1747, with the addition of an APPENDIX written in January 1755, and printed in the beginning of March following.

Nothing farther appears necessary to be said upon this subject for the public satisfaction, except remarking the absolute silence, which Mr. Carte chose to preserve with regard to it in the fourth volume of his General History of England, printed off during his life-time, tho' not published till about a year after his death: For in his whole

whole account of the reign of King Charles I. he has not made the least mention of the Earl of Glamorgan, or his transactions in Ireland, on which he had been so copious in his Life of James Duke of Ormonde.

The remarkable fact, mentioned in the conclusion of the Appendix, relating to John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, is confirmed by the authority of a contemporary writer, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, Counsellor to the Kings James I. and Charles I. Lord of the Exchequer, Lord of the Session, and Director of the Chancery, in Scotland. This eminent man, in his Staggering state of the Scots statesmen for one hundred years, viz. from 1550 to 1650, first published from an original manuscript at Edinburgh, in 1754, in 12mo. has, p. 23, 24, the following passage: " Being sent to the King from the " Parliament, he [Lord Loudon] was im- " prisoned in the Tower, and ran a great " risque of his life; for there was a warrant " sent to Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant " of the Tower, to behead him: But Sir " William procured a countermand by the " Marquis of Hamilton's moyen, and so " preserved his Life."

March 12, 1756.

A N
I N Q U I R Y

Into the Share, which King
CHARLES I. had in the
Transactions of the Earl of
Glamorgan, &c.

THE *Cessation* made by the Marquis
of Ormonde by order of King
Charles I. with the *Irish* rebels on
the 15th of *September* 1643, was con-
sidered by the Parliament of *England* as so
destructive to the Protestant interest, that
they immediately made a *Declaration* a-
gainst it. In answer to which his Majesty
publish'd *The Grounds and Motives of the*
Cessation ; which in effect were, " That
B " the

“ the *English* army in *Ireland* could no
 “ longer subsist without supplies ; and that
 “ the Parliament took no care to send any ;
 “ but, on the contrary, the Earl of *War-*
 “ *wick* intercepted those, which his Ma-
 “ jesty sent ; and that the Parliament en-
 “ deavoured to draw the *Scots* army out of
 “ *Ireland* into *England* : so that, in fine
 “ there was an absolute necessity of their
 “ *Cessation*, as preparatory to a *peace* ;
 “ which nevertheless he will never admit,
 “ unless it be such a *peace*, as may be a-
 “ greeable to *conscience*, *honour*, and *jus-*
 “ *tice*.” But it appears, that one of the
 principal Motives of the King’s concluding
 the *Cessation* was the view of drawing over
 the army under the Marquis of *Ormonde*’s
 command from *Ireland* into *England* for
 his own support against the Parliament; for
 in his letter to the Marquis from *Oxford*
 on the 23d of *April* 1643, he writes
 thus * :

“ *Ormonde*,
 “ I Have sent you herewith a command
 “ and power to make a *Cessation* with
 “ the

* *Carte*’s Life of *James* the first Duke of *Ormonde*,
 Vol. III. N°. 153. p. 160.

" the rebels ; which, tho' it be not so for-
 " mally legal, as I could wish, yet I desire
 " you earnestly to put those my commands
 " in execution ; and as soon as that is done,
 " Ormonde *must bring over the Irish army*
 " *under his command to Chester*, as I have
 " given this trusty bearer Sir *Patrick*
 " *Weemes* full instruction. Wherefore not
 " having time to write more, I refer you to
 " him, and rest

" *Your most assured*

" *constant Friend,*

Charles Rex,

AND on the 7th of *September* following
 his Majesty wrote a letter to the Lords Jus-
 tices and the Marquis of Ormonde *, wherein
 he ordered them *to consider and advise of*
the best means of transporting the rest of
our army in that our province of Leinster
(excepting such as are to be kept in gari-
sons) into our kingdom of England.

BUT the troops, which were thus to be
 transported, being generally very unwilling
 to go to fight against their own country-
 men,

B 2

* *Carter's Life*, *ibid.* N°. 169. p. 172.

men, whilst the *Irish* rebels would insult over their distressed companions and relations, who should be left behind ; an oath was contrived, which every one of them was forced to take, and several penal edicts were published against those, who should desert or return*. Accordingly in *January* 1644-5, the regiments of Sir *Michael Ernly*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, Colonel *Monck*, Colonel *Gibson*, Colonel *Warren*, &c. were sent from *Leinster* †, as those of Sir *Charles Vavasour*, Sir *John Paulet*, Sir *William St. Leger*, Colonel *Mynn*, and the Lord *Dungarvan* were from *Munster* ‡. But the former were kill'd or taken prisoners by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* at *Namptwich* in *Cheshire* ; and the latter were destroy'd at the siege of *Glocester* §.

THIS was a severe disappointment to the King, who thereupon determined upon a peace with the *Irish* rebels, in order to employ not only the rest of the *English* troops still in *Ireland*, but also a considerable body of

* *Borlase*, History of the *Irish* Rebellion, p. 138. and *Cox's* History of *Ireland*, Vol. II. p. 136, 137.

† *Cox*, p. 137.

‡ *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 469.

§ *Cox*, p. 137.

of the *Irish* themselves, whom he intended to send for into *England*. In pursuance of this resolution he sent orders to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, now Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to negotiate this peace; his impatience for which will appear from the three following letters *, the two first written just before the treaty of *Uxbridge*, and the last a few days after it broke up.

“ *Ormonde,*

“ UPON the great rumours and expectations, which are now of a peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

“ THE rebels here have agreed to treat; and most assuredly one of the first and chiefest articles they will insist on, will be *to continue the Irish war*, which is a point not popular for me to break on: of which you are to make a double use; first to hasten with all possible diligence the peace there, the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience,

B 3

“ which

* King *Charles I's* Works, Vol. I. p. 331. Edit. 1662. *Carte*, Vol. II. Appendix, N°. XIV. p. 6.

“ which otherwise I may be subject to by
 “ the refusal of that article upon any other
 “ reason. Secondly, by dexterously con-
 “ veying to the *Irish* the danger there may
 “ be of their total and perpetual exclusion
 “ from those *favours I intend them*, in
 “ case the rebels here clap up peace with
 “ me upon reasonable terms, and only ex-
 “ clude them, which possibly were not
 “ counsellable for me to refuse, if the *Irish*
 “ peace should be the only difference be-
 “ twixt us, before it were perfected there.
 “ These, I hope, are sufficient grounds for
 “ you to persuade the *Irish* diligently to
 “ dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms;
 “ assuring them, that you having once en-
 “ gaged to them my word in the conclu-
 “ sion of a peace, all the earth shall not
 “ make me break it. But not doubting of
 “ a peace, I must *again remember you to*
 “ *press the Irish for their speedy assistance*
 “ *to me here, and their friends in Scot-*
 “ *land*, my intention being to draw from
 “ thence into *Wales*, (the peace once con-
 “ cluded) as many as I can of my armed
 “ Protestant subjects, and desire, that *the*
 “ *Irish would send as great a body as they*
 “ *can*

“ can land about Cumberland, which will
 “ put those northern counties into a brave
 “ condition. Wherefore you must take
 “ speedy order to provide all the shipping
 “ you may, as well *Dunkirk* as *Irish* bot-
 “ toms; and remember, that after *March*
 “ it will be most difficult to transport men
 “ from *Ireland* to *England*, the rebels be-
 “ ing masters of the seas. So expecting a
 “ diligent and particular account in answer
 “ to this letter, I rest

Your most assured loving Friend,

Charles R.

“ 9 January 1644.

“ *Ormonde* *,

“ I Am sorry to find by Col. *Barry* the
 “ sad condition of your particular for-
 “ tune, for which I cannot find so good
 “ and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ire-*
 “ *land*, (*it being likewise most necessary*
 “ *to redress my affairs here.*) Wherefore
 “ I command you to dispatch it out of
 “ hand; for the doing of which I hope
 “ my public dispatch will give you suffi-
 “ cient instruction and power. Yet I have

B 4

“ thought

* *Carte*, *ibid*, N^o. XV. p. 7.

“ thought it necessary for your more en-
 “ couragement in this necessary work to
 “ make this addition with my own hand,

“ As for *Poyning's Act* *, I refer you to
 “ my other letter : and for matter of *reli-*
 “ *gion*, though I have not found it fit to
 “ take public notice of the paper, which
 “ *Browne* gave you, yet I must command
 “ you to give him, the Lord *Muskerry*,
 “ and *Plunket* particular thanks for it ;
 “ assuring them, that without it there
 “ could have been no peace ; and that
 “ sticking to it, their nation in general,
 “ and they in particular, shall have comfort
 “ in what they have done. And to shew,
 “ that this is more than words, I do hereby
 “ promise them (and command you to see
 “ it done) that *the penal laws against the*
 “ *Roman Catholics shall not be put in exe-*
 “ *cution*, the peace being made, and they
 “ remaining in their due obedience. And
 “ further,

* This act, which passed in the reign of King
Henry VII. was intituled, *An act, that no parliament be*
holden in Ireland, until the acts be certified into England ;
 and by it no bill could be passed in *Ireland*, but what
 was first transmitted into *England*, and allowed under
 the great seal of that kingdom.

“ further, that when *the Irish give me that*
 “ *assistance, which they have promised,*
 “ for the suppression of this rebellion, and
 “ I shall be restored to my rights, then *I*
 “ *will consent to the repeal of them by a*
 “ *law.* But all those against appeals to
 “ *Rome and Præmunire* must stand. All
 “ this in cypher you must impart to none
 “ but those three already named, and that
 “ with injunction of strictest secrecy.

“ So again recommending to your care
 “ the speedy dispatch of the peace of *Ire-*
 “ *land, and my necessary supply from*
 “ *thence,* as I wrote to you in my last *pri-*
 “ *vate letter,* I rest

Your most assured

constant Friend,

Charles R.

“ *Oxford, 18 January 1644.*

“ In case upon particular men's fancies,
 “ the *Irish* peace should not be procured
 “ upon the powers I have already given
 “ you, I have thought fit to give you this
 “ further order (which I hope will prove
 “ needless) to endeavour to renew the *Ces-*
 “ *sation*

" sation for a year ; for which you shall
 " promise the *Irish* (if you can have it no
 " cheaper) to join with them against the
 " *Scots* and *Inchiquin* ; for I hope, by
 " that time, my condition may be such, as
 " the *Irish* may be glad to accept *less*, or I
 " able to grant more."

" Ormonde *,

" THE impossibility of preserving my
 " Protestant subjects in *Ireland* by a
 " continuation of the war, having moved
 " me to give you those powers and direc-
 " tions, which I have formerly done, for
 " the concluding of a peace there ; and the
 " same growing daily much more evident,
 " that alone were reason enough for me to
 " enlarge your powers, and make my com-
 " mands in the point more positive, But
 " besides these considerations, it being now
 " manifest, that the *English* rebels have (as
 " far as in them lies) given the command
 " of *Ireland* to the *Scots* ; that their aim is
 " a total subversion of religion and regal
 " power ; and that nothing less will con-
 " tent

* King *Charles's* Works, Vol. I. p. 330. and *Carte*
ubi supra, N^o. XVIII. p. 9.

“ tent them, or purchase peace here; I
 “ think myself bound in conscience not to
 “ let slip the means of settling that king-
 “ dom (if it may be) fully under my obe-
 “ dience, *nor to lose that assistance, which*
 “ *I may hope from my Irish Subjects,* for
 “ such *scruples*, as in a less pressing con-
 “ dition might reasonably be stuck at by
 “ me for their satisfaction. I do therefore
 “ command you to conclude a peace with
 “ the *Irish, what'er it cost*, so that my Pro-
 “ testant subjects there may be secured, and
 “ my regal authority preserved. But for
 “ all this you are to make me the best bar-
 “ gain you can, and not to discover your
 “ enlargement of power, till you needs
 “ must. And tho' I leave the managing
 “ of this great and necessary work intirely
 “ to you; yet I cannot but tell you, that
 “ if the suspension of *Poyning's Act* for
 “ such bills, as shall be agreed on between
 “ you there, *and the present taking away of*
 “ *the penal laws against Papists by a law,*
 “ will do it, I shall not think it a *hard bar-*
 “ *gain*, so that *freely and vigorously they*
 “ *engage themselves in my assistance a-*
 “ *gainst my rebels of England and Scot-*
 “ *land,*

“ land, for which no conditions can be
 “ too hard, not being against conscience or
 “ honour. So I rest

Your most assured
 constant Friend,

Charles R.

“ Oxford, 27 Feb. 1644.

But the Marquis of Ormonde was so zealous a Protestant, that he was absolutely averse to the granting of the terms, upon which the *Irish* rebels insisted*: And this firmness

* The author of the *Nuncio's Memoirs* in several places complains of the Marquis for not following the King's orders in making peace with the *Irish*, tho' he knew how strongly his Majesty desir'd it, and how much he wanted their assistance: *Præcipua ergo secundum Deum regi spes supererat in viribus ex Ibernâ in Angliam transvehendis. Verum Ormonius ita spei in se a rege posite defuerat, & deerat, ut pacis cum Ibernâ catholicis absolvendæ desiderium semper præ se tulerit, sed re ipsa ex industria in id animum intendisse videatur, ne pax nisi Ibernis iniquissima, proindeque ab ipsis, saltem à sinceris, non admittenda, adeoque (nam hoc confessaneum erat) omnino nulla contraberetur, perinde ac si regem subsidis ex Ibernâ subministrandis frustrare decreverit, quæ utique nisi motibus in Ibernâ per pacem ante compositis, haud subministranda non ignorabat.* Fol. 711.

Rex rebus in Angliâ accisis, quo Iberniam pacificaret, & ex pacificatâ suppetias in Angliæ Scotiæque rebelles acciret, Ormonio jam proregi ineundæ cum catholicis pacis potestatem fecit 24 Junii 1644, quâ ille turpissimè abusus

firmness of his in that respect, even at a time of the king's extreme distress, is evident from a letter of his lordship to Lord Digby of the 25th of *December* 1646, in which was the following passage *: " One " thing I shall beseech you to be careful of, " which is, to take order, that the com- " mands, that shall be directed to me touch- " ing this people (if any be) thwart not the " grounds

abusus est. Pacem enim contrahere velle præ se ferebat, & tam catholicos, quam regem, utrinque æquis conditionibus concordiam anhelantes, hac spe fovebat; sed in tractatu vel agendo vel peragendo semper novas excogitavit artes, quibus ipsum ab omni nisi iniquissimâ pace concludendâ abhorreere res ipsa sole meridiano clarius loqueretur. Ille tamen apud regem facti invidiâ catholicos onerabat, unaquæ apud catholicos causabatur nihil se præterea concessurum, quod mandati limites excederet. Rex interea in Angliâ magis magisque ad angustias reductus mandatis 15^o Decembris eodem anno 1644, 7^o Januarii, & 16^o Februarii 1645 datis, aliisque Ormonio facultatem ampliavit, monuit, pressit, præcepit, & imminentem sibi ruinam ob oculos posuit, ut pacem illam, solam sibi superstitem, perficeret. Sed illa omnia nihil ex Ormonio nisi subtiliorem indies artificiorum succum & eliquamen expresserunt, perinde omnino ac si regis & catholicorum (exceptis suis fautoribus) ruinam meditaretur, & clandestinis pactis, vel certè nescio quid spondentibus malitionibus, parlamento studeret. Quibus alienarum præstigiarum languoribus rex demum expirans, ante mortalium pene reliquos de se optimè meritum, & probatiorem auro obrizo catholicum, qui Iberniciæ fœderatis, dum in rebelles succurrerent, nihil prope denegaret Glamorganum deputavit. Fol. 1047.

* Cox, History of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 184. and Carte, Vol. III. N^o. DXXV. p. 534.

“ grounds I have laid to myself in point of
 “ religion; for in that, and in that only,
 “ I shall resort to the liberty left to a sub-
 “ ject to obey by suffering. And this I
 “ mention, lest the king’s service should
 “ suffer in my scrupulousness in things an-
 “ other would find less difficulty in.” The
 King therefore having little expectations,
 that his lordship would consent to the
 terms of the *Irish* rebels, or that they would
 condescend to his; and being impatient for
 the succours from *Ireland*, which he chiefly
 relied upon, and with which he expected
 to be able to give law to the Parliament,
 and then be obliged to use no farther cere-
 mony; he resolv’d upon a method of satis-
 fying the *Irish* without the intervention of
 the Lord Lieutenant, and in so private a
 manner, as might obviate the prejudice,
 which his concessions might raise against
 him among the Protestants in general.

To this purpose, whilst the Marquis of
Ormonde was labouring with great earnest-
 ness to make a peace with the rebels, by en-
 deavouring to persuade them to desist from
 part of their demands, the King resolved to
 employ

employ secretly with them *Edward Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, and Earl of *Glamorgan**, eldest son of the Marquis of *Worcester*. This earl was a zealous Roman Catholic, *ter Catholicus* †, but had, upon the breaking out of the war between the King and Parliament, been made Lord Lieutenant of *South-Wales*; and had raised at his own and his father's expence a body of 1500 foot and near 500 horse for the King. He was generally belov'd, as being a very good-natur'd man, civil and obliging to all, and very zealous for his Majesty's service, and had a more than ordinary reverence and affection to his person ‡. He had married
to

* Mr. *Sandford*, in his *Genealogical History*, Book IV. Ch. 18. p. 357. Edit. *London* 1707, fol. tells us, "that there now remains in the Signet-Office a bill under the royal sign manual at *Oxford*, (if a patent did not thereupon pass the great seal) in order to his creation into the honour of Earl of *Glamorgan*, and Baron *Beaufort* of *Caldecot-Castle* in the County of *Monmouth*." And the King in a patent to him under the great seal of the 1st of *April* 1644, gives him that title; so that it is surprizing, that Secretary *Nicholas* should have orders from his majesty to acquaint the Marquis of *Ormonde* in a letter from *Oxford* of the 31st of *January* 1645-6, "that the patent for making the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* Earl of *Glamorgan* was not passed the great seal."

† *Nuncio's Memoirs*, p. 712.

‡ *Clarendon, History of the Rebellion*, B. VI. p. 286, 287. Edit. *Oxford*, 1732, fol.

to his second wife the Lady *Margaret O'Bryen*, daughter to *Henry Earl of Thomond*, elder brother to *Barnaby*, the present earl, by which marriage he had some possessions, and was allied to many of the best and most powerful families in *Ireland**. Being thus connected therefore with the Confederate *Roman Catholics* there, both by affinity and religion, he was the most proper person to negotiate a peace with them, because the King being in the hands of the Protestants, could employ none but a *Roman Catholic* to grant the *Irish* their own terms with regard to religion, which were not fit to be known publickly, till his Majesty should, having subdued the rebels both in *England* and *Scotland*, be in a condition to avow and ratify those concessions†.

THE King therefore, on the 27th of *December* 1644, recommends the Earl to the Marquis

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 550.

† *Fœderatis Catholicis duplici cum affinitatis tum religionis vinculo connexum, proindeque ad pacem illam in Ibernia eò aptum, quod rex hæreticorum manu detentus non nisi ministri catholici interventu æquas causæ catholicæ conditiones concessurus diceretur, haud in vulgus spargendas, donec, depressis Angliæ Scotiæque rebellibus, sui esset juris ad eas palam agnoscendas præstandasque.* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 712.

Marquis of Ormonde in the following letter *.

“ Ormonde,

“ MY Lord *Herbert* having businesses of
 “ his own in *Ireland* (wherein I de-
 “ fire you to do him all lawful favour and
 “ furtherance) I have thought good to
 “ use the power I have, both in his
 “ affection and duty, to engage him in
 “ all possible ways to further the peace
 “ there; which he hath promised to do.
 “ Wherefore, as you find occasion, you
 “ may confidently use and trust him in this,
 “ or any other thing he shall propound to
 “ you for my service; there being none,
 “ in whose honesty and zeal to my person
 “ and crown I have more confidence. So
 “ I rest

“ Your most assured

“ constant Friend,

Charles R.

“ Oxford, 27 Decemb. 1644.”

To this letter was added the following
 postscript in cypher: “ His honesty or af-
 C “ fection

* See the Appendix to *Carter's* II. d. Volume, No. XIII, p. 5.

“ *fection* to my service will not deceive
 “ you; but I will not answer for his *judg-*
 “ *ment.*”

AND on the 6th of *January*, 1644-5, his Majesty gave him a commission under the great seal, of which there is a *Latin* translation in the *Nuncio's Memoirs**, for levying any number of men in *Ireland*, and other parts beyond sea, commanding of them, putting officers over them, governors in forts and towns, and giving him power to receive the King's rents, &c.

AND on the 12th of that month, his Majesty gave him another commission, in the following terms †.

Charles R.

“ **W**Hereas we have had sufficient and
 “ ample testimony of your approved
 “ wisdom and fidelity, so great is the con-
 “ fidence we repose in you, as that what-
 “ soever you shall perform, as warranted
 “ under

* Fol. 713. See likewise *Carte*, vol. I. p. 557.

† *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 715. and *Carte*, vol. I. p. 554.

“ under our *sign manual, pocket signet,*
 “ or *private mark,* or even by *word of*
 “ *mouth,* without farther ceremony, we
 “ do in the word of a King and a Chri-
 “ stian, promise to make good to all in-
 “ tents and purposes, as effectually, as if
 “ your authority from us had been un-
 “ der the great seal of *England,* with this
 “ advantage, that we shall esteem ourself
 “ the more obliged to you for your ga-
 “ lantry, in not standing upon such nice
 “ terms to do us service, which we shall,
 “ God willing, reward. And altho’ you
 “ exceed what law can warrant, or any
 “ powers of ours reach unto, as not
 “ knowing what you have need of;
 “ yet it being for our service, we oblige
 “ ourself, not only to give you our par-
 “ don, but to maintain the same with all
 “ our might and power; and tho’ either
 “ by accident, or by any other occasion,
 “ you shall deem it necessary to deposite
 “ any of our warrants, and so want them
 “ at your return, we faithfully promise
 “ to make them good at your return, and
 “ to supply any thing, wherein they shall
 “ be found defective, it not being conve-

" nient for us at this time to dispute upon
 " them; for of what we have here set
 " down you may rest confident, if there
 " be faith and truth in men. Proceed
 " therefore chearfully, speedily, and boldly;
 " and for your so doing this shall be your
 " sufficient warrant.

" GIVEN at our court at *Oxford* under
 " our sign manual and private signet, this
 " 12th of *January*, 1644.

ON the 12th of *March* following the
 King gave the Earl another warrant in these
 terms *.

Charles R.

" *C*harles by the grace of GOD, of *Eng-*
 " *land, Scotland, France, and Ireland,*
 " defender of the faith, &c. to our trusty
 " and right well-beloved cousin, *Edward*
 " Earl of *Glamorgan*, greeting. We repos-
 " ing great and especial trust and confidence
 " in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do
 " by these (as firmly as under our great
 " seal, to all intents and purposes) autho-
 " rize

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 716. *Rushworth*, part IV.
 vol. I. p. 243.

" rize and give you power, to treat and con-
 " clude with the Confederate *Roman Ca-*
 " *tholics* in our kingdom of *Ireland*, if
 " upon necessity any be to be condescended
 " unto, wherein our *Lieutenant* cannot so
 " well be seen in, as not fit for us at pre-
 " sent publickly to own. Therefore we
 " charge you to proceed according to this
 " our warrant, with all possible secrecy;
 " and for whatsoever you shall engage
 " yourself, upon such valuable considera-
 " tions, as you in your judgment shall
 " deem fit, we promise on the word of a
 " King and a Christian, to ratify and per-
 " form the same, that shall be granted by
 " you, and under your hand and seal; the
 " said Confederate Catholics having by
 " their supplies testified their zeal to our
 " service. And this shall be in each
 " particular to you a sufficient Warrant.
 " Given at our Court at *Oxford*, under
 " our signet and royal signature, the 12th
 " of *March*, in the twentieth year of our
 " reign, 1644."

How great a degree of favour and confidence the Earl had with his Majesty, will ap-

pear still further from a patent granted to him the year before, during the time the Lord *Muskerry*, *Nich. Plunket*, and the other agents for the *Irish* rebels, were attending the King at *Oxford*. The patent † is as follows *.

“ *CHARLES* by the grace of God,
 “ King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and
 “ *Ireland*, defender of the faith, &c. to
 “ our

† *Collins's Peerage of England*, vol. I. p. 72, 73, 2d edit. *London*, 1741.

* Mr. *Carte* having undertaken to defend the King's Memory at the expence of that of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, asserts vol. I. p. 557, 558. that the Earl “ could coin commissions and letters from the King as fast as he pleased, and never wanted any thing of either fort, that would contribute to his schemes in *Ireland*, or remove any difficulties, that stood in their way. “ The *Irish* were credulous, apt to swallow without examining, and take for granted every thing that they wished. He played his game by flattering this “ weakness of theirs, and calculated the warrant he shewed in such a manner, as to make them imagine, that he had other warrants, and that every thing he should do without any warrant at all, would nevertheless be confirmed.... With the same view of raising his credit with the Nuncio, he told him, that he was to be made Knight of the Garter; that he was to be repaid all his expences in his Majesty's service, and “ 700,000 crowns besides, as a portion with one of the King's daughters to be married to his son. It “ was out of a like motive, that he pretended to have powers to treat with any foreign Catholic Prince for succours; to command a fleet, ... to be subject “ to no orders but those of his Majesty, ... to grant titles of honour as high as the dignity of marquis.

“ All

“ our right trusty and right well-beloved
 “ cousin, *Edward Somerset*, alias *Plantagenet*, Lord *Herbert*, Baron *Beaufort*
 “ of *Caldicote*, *Grismond*, *Chepstow*, Rag-
 C 4 “ land,

“ All these commissions and powers he assured the
 “ Nuncio, he had under the King's hand and seal, and
 “ *probably* being coined in the same mint, they
 “ might have been upon occasion as easily produced,
 “ as the other before-mentioned,” [*viz.* of *March*
12th, 1644.] For this charge of forgery brought a-
 gainst the Earl, not the least proof is produc'd by Mr.
Carte; and it is effectually overthrown in one capital
 instance, objected to his Lordship, by the patent before
 us, published by Mr. *Collins* in both editions of his
Peerage of England. And this in all probability was
 the same patent, which was the subject of an enquiry
 in the *House* of Peers soon after the restoration. For
 the Marquis of *Hertford*, who had a just claim to the
 title of *Duke of Somerset*, which had not been legally
 forfeited by his great grand-father, the Protector, and
 to which he was accordingly restored by Act of Parlia-
 ment in 1660, having discover'd, that the Marquis of
Worcester (as the Earl of *Glamorgan* then was) had a
 patent creating him *Duke of Somerset*, as we find that
 of the first of *April 1644* did; he gave notice of that
 patent to the House of Lords on the 8th of *August*
 1660, as being granted in *Prejudice to other Peers*:
 upon which the consideration thereof was referred
 to a committee; from whom the Marquis of *Dorchester*
 reported on the 23d of that month, that the Marquis
 of *Worcester* confess'd, “ that a patent was made and
 “ left in his hands by the King to create him *Duke*
 “ of *Somerset*, upon certain conditions, which never
 “ were yet performed: That he had made no use of it :
 “ That the said patent was in the hands of his son the
 “ Lord *Herbert*; and that he [the Marquis] was
 “ willing to deliver it up to his Majesty:” which his
 Lordship accordingly did, as the Lord *Arundel* of
Wardour signified to the house on the 3d of *Septem-*
ber following.

“ *land*, and *Gower*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, son
 “ and heir apparent of our intirely be-
 “ loved cousin, *Henry* Earl and Marquis
 “ of *Worcester*, greeting. Having had
 “ good and long experience of your
 “ prowess, prudence, and fidelity, do make
 “ choice, and by these nominate and ap-
 “ point you, our right trusty and right
 “ well-beloved cousin, *Edward Somerset*,
 “ &c. to be our Generalissimo of three
 “ armies, *English*, *Irish*, and foreign, and
 “ Admiral of a fleet at sea, with power to
 “ recommend your lieutenant-general for
 “ our approbation, leaving all other of-
 “ ficers to your own election and deno-
 “ mination, and accordingly to receive
 “ their commission from you; willing and
 “ commanding them, and every of them,
 “ you to obey, as their general, and you
 “ to receive immediate orders from our-
 “ self only. And lest thro’ distance of
 “ place we may be misinformed, we will
 “ and command you to reply unto us,
 “ if any of our orders should thwart or
 “ hinder any of your designs for our ser-
 “ vice. And there being necessary great
 “ sums of money to the carrying on so
 “ chargeable

“ chargeable an employment, which we
 “ have not to furnish you withal ; we do
 “ by these impower you to contract with
 “ any of our loving subjects of *Eng-*
 “ *land, Ireland,* and dominion of *Wales,*
 “ for wardships, customs, woods, or any
 “ our rights and prerogatives ; we by these
 “ obliging ourselves, our heirs and suc-
 “ cessors, to confirm and make good the
 “ same accordingly. And for persons of
 “ Generosity, for whom titles of honour
 “ are most desirable, we have intrusted you
 “ with several patents under our great seal
 “ of *England,* from a Marquis to a Baro-
 “ net ; which we give you full power and
 “ authority to date and dispose of, without
 “ knowing our further pleasure, so great
 “ is our trust and confidence in you, as
 “ that, whatsoever you do contract for or
 “ promise, we will make good the same
 “ accordingly, from the date of this our
 “ commission forwards ; which for the
 “ better satisfaction, we give you leave to
 “ give them, or any of them, copies there-
 “ of, attested under your hand and seal
 “ of arms. And for your own encourage-
 “ ment, and in token of our gratitude
 “ we

“ we give and allow you hence-forward
 “ such fees, titles, preheminences, and pri-
 “ vileges, as do and may belong unto your
 “ place and command above-mentioned,
 “ with promise of our dear daughter
 “ *Elizabeth* to your son *Plantaginet*, in
 “ marriage, with three hundred thousand
 “ pounds in dower or portion, most part
 “ whereof we acknowledge spent and dis-
 “ burs’d by your father and you in our
 “ service; and the title of Duke of *So-*
 “ *merset* to you and your heirs male
 “ for ever; and from henceforward to
 “ give the garter to your arms, and at
 “ your pleasure to put on the *George* and
 “ blue ribbon. And for your greater ho-
 “ nour, and in testimony of our reality,
 “ we have with our own hand affixed our
 “ great seal of *England* unto these our
 “ commission and letters, making them
 “ patents. Witness ourself at *Oxford*, the
 “ first day of *April*, in the 20th year of our
 “ reign, and the year of our Lord, one
 “ thousand six hundred and forty four.”

ON the 30th of *April* 1645, the
 King wrote a letter to *John Baptista Ri-*
nuccini,

nuccini, Archbishop of *Fermo*, the Pope's Nuncio, who was then coming from *Italy* in order to go to *Ireland*. This letter was to be delivered by the Earl of *Glamorgan* to the Nuncio, *accio li servisse*, says *Vittorio Siri* *, who has given us an *Italian* translation of it, *di credenza, per quello haurebbe seco à trattare il Conte di Glamorgan, i. e.* " That it might serve " as a credential for what the Earl had " to treat with the Nuncio." We have a copy of this letter in the Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 999 †, transcribed from the original

* *Mercurio, ovvero historia di correnti tempi*, Tom. viii. p. 27. edit. di *Casale* 1667.

† *Supererat Nuncio agendum cum Glamorgano, qui nedum facultates superius positas, quibus ad pacem contrahendam munitus esset, ostendit, sed etiam literas eidem à Rege Gallicè scriptas, parvo sigillo, & cerâ rubrâ hodieque integrâ obsignatas, tradidit, quibus Regem manu propriâ subscripsisse video. Epistolam illam hic fide summâ, ne apice quidem mutato, ex autographo Gallico Gallicè primum trado; postea in eorum, qui Gallicè non intelligunt, gratiam Latine translaturus. Haud ignoro nonnulla in eâ occurrere in linguæ Gallicæ regulas peccantia; sed malui fidelius quam correctius eam posteris communicare. Consideravi etiam Regem & à Nuncio, & à Glamorgano, exigisse, ut secreti leges observarent. Quare in medium non producerem, nisi aliis scriptoribus communicatam viderem, & secreti causæ, tempora, & circumstantiæ jam cessassent.* Fol. 998.

original still extant, seal'd with the King's privy seal with red wax: and the writer of those *Memoirs* observes, that tho' there are in it some faults with regard to the propriety of the *French* language, he chose to give it with the utmost exactness as it was written, and without the alteration of a tittle; and that as the King had requir'd the Nuncio and the Earl of *Glamorgan* to keep it secret, he should not have produc'd it, if he had not found it communicated to other writers, and that the reasons of secrecy, from the distance of time and other circumstances, were now ceased. The Letter is as follows:

*A Monsr. Monsr. l' Archevesque de Fermo.
Monsr.*

“ E Ntendant de vostre resolution pour
 “ l’*Irlande*, nous ne doubtons point,
 “ que les choses n’yront bien, & que les
 “ bonnes intentions commencées par effect
 “ du dernier Pape ne s’accompliront par
 “ celuy, icy, & par vos moyens, en notre
 “ royaume d’ *Irlande* & d’ *Angleterre*,
 “ joignissant avec notre cher cousin, le
 “ Comte de *Glamorgan*, avec qui ce que
 “ vous

“ vous resolves, nous y tiendrons obligez,
 “ & l’acheverons à son retour. Ses grandes
 “ merites nous obligent à la confidence,
 “ que sur tout nous avons en luy, notre
 “ cognoissance estant de plus de vingt an-
 “ nées. Pendant icel temps il s’est tous
 “ jours signallement avancé dans notre bonn
 “ estime, & par toute sorte de moyens
 “ a emporté le prix par deffous tous nos
 “ subjects. Le quel joint a son sang, vous
 “ pourrez bien juger la passion, que mes-
 “ mement nous avons en son endroit, &
 “ que rien ne manquera de nostre costé
 “ a perfectioner ce qui a quoy il s’obli-
 “ gerà en notre nom, au prix des faveurs
 “ receyes par nos moyens. Fiez vous
 “ doncques a luy; mais cependant, selon
 “ le commandement, que nous luy avons
 “ donné, combien il import, que se tient
 “ secret, il n’y a pas besoin de vous per-
 “ suader, ny plus de recommander, que
 “ vous ne voyes, que la necessité mesme
 “ requiert. Cellecy estant la premiere,
 “ que nous avons jamais immediatement
 “ escrite a quelconque ministre d’estat du
 “ Pape, esperant, que celle ne cera pas la
 “ derniere, mais que apertement (apres
 “ que

“ que le dit Comt & vous avez faicts vos
“ effects) de nous montrer, comme nous luy
“ avons asseuré,

“ *Votre Ami,*

“ Charles R.

“ De nostre Cour d'*Oxford* le 30 d'*Avril*
“ 1645.”

Which may be thus literally translated:

“ *Sir,*

“ **H**Earing of your resolution for *Ire-*
“ *land*, we do not doubt, but that
“ things will go well ; and that the good
“ intentions begun by means of the last
“ Pope will be accomplished by the present,
“ by your means, in our kingdom of *Ire-*
“ *land* and *England*, your joining with our
“ dear cousin the Earl of *Glamorgan*, with
“ whom whatever you shall resolve, we
“ shall think ourselves obliged to, and
“ perform it at his return. His great me-
“ rits oblige us to this confidence, which
“ we repose in him above all, having
“ known him above twenty years; dur-
“ ing which time he has always signally
“ advanc'd himself in our good esteem, and
“ by

" by all kind of means carried the prize
 " above all our subjects. This being
 " join'd to the consideration of his blood,
 " you may well judge of the passion,
 " which we have particularly for him, and
 " that nothing shall be wanting on our
 " part, to perfect what he shall oblige him-
 " self to in our name, in consideration of
 " the favours received by your means.
 " Confide therefore in him; but in the
 " mean while, according to the directions,
 " which we have given him, how im-
 " portant it is, that the affair should be
 " kept secret, there is no occasion to per-
 " suade you, nor to recommend it to you,
 " since you see, that the necessity of the
 " thing itself requires it. This is the first
 " letter, which we have ever wrote imme-
 " diately to any minister of state of the
 " Pope, hoping, that it will not be the
 " last; but that after the said Earl and
 " you shall have concerted your measures,
 " we shall openly shew ourself, as we have
 " assured him,

" *Your Friend,*

Charles R."

" From our Court at *Oxford*, 30th
 " *April 1645.*"

HIS

His Majesty wrote likewise a letter to the Pope, addressed *Beatissimo Patri Innocentio decimo, i. e.* "To the most " blessed Father *Innocent* the tenth;" which he delivered to the Earl of *Glamorgan*; and of which a further account will be given hereafter. But in the mean time it will be proper to see, what were the views of that Pope in sending the Nuncio to *Ireland*.

- *INNOCENT X.* upon his first advancement to the See of *Rome*, on the 15th of *September* 1644, resolved to assist the Catholics in *Ireland*, and to send, as a Nuncio to them, a man qualified by his abilities, dignity, and authority, to expell the Protestant religion, not only out of that kingdom, but likewise out of *England* and *Scotland* *. And accordingly *John Baptista Rinuccini*, Archbishop of *Fermo*, descended of a noble family at *Florence*,

* *Ut tam sedì apostolicæ quam ipsi scopus fuerit Principi [Firmano] Iberniam primo ab hereseos jugo vindicare, deindeque Iberniam uti ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam etoticam restituendam, ad quam ille provinciam obeundam expressa et sæpiusculè iterata (sicut inferius videbitur) a summo Pontifice mandata accepit, atque amplas instructiones.* fol. 760, 761.

Florence, and of long experience in the court of *Rome*, was appointed for that service *, and furnish'd with instructions, sign'd by Cardinal *Pamphilio*, the Pope's nephew, *March 16th, 1644*, "to restore and
 " establish in *Ireland* the exercise of the
 " Catholic religion, and to reduce the peo-
 " ple, if not to be tributary (as they had been
 " five ages before) to the Apostolic See, at
 " least to be subject to the gentle yoke of
 " the Papal power in things spiritual, and
 " at last gain over innumerable souls to the
 " bliss of heaven †."

THE more private instructions directed the Nuncio to assure the Queen of *Great Britain*, then at *Paris*, and the Lord *Jermyn* her minister, that he had no design against her husband's crown, but only to propagate the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and unite them by the bond of one religion; and that the only assistance, which could be expected by the King, was from the *Irish* Catholics ‡. He was order'd likewise in carrying on his

D

secret

* Nuncio's memoirs, fol. 757, 758.

† Ibid. fol. 773.

‡ Ibid. fol. 797,—801.

secret Negotiations with the Queen, to employ a person of prudence, fidelity and honesty, but of no eminent rank, to avoid suspicion ; and to convince her Majesty, that the business, upon which he was sent, was the most effectual way to restore the King, and promote the authority of his crown *.

THESE precautions were the more necessary, as the King and Queen, upon the first account, which they receiv'd, of the Nuncio's being appointed to go for *Ireland*, entertain'd a jealousy, lest the Pope under the pretence of extirpating *Heresy*, should attempt to deprive his Majesty of that kingdom. For which reason they us'd all their endeavours to prevent the Nuncio from going thither, or at least to make peace with the *Irish* Catholics, before he should arrive there †.

THE Nuncio being arriv'd at *Paris* on the 22d of *May*, 1645, N. S. was desirous of visiting the Queen with the usual solemnity,

* Ibid. fol. 800.

† Ibid. fol. 832, 833.

lemnity, and presenting the Pope's brief to her, with Cardinal *Pamphilio's* letter : But her Majesty refused to admit his solemn visit, thro' the suggestions of some of the *English* Protestants of her court, who alledg'd, that it would raise a suspicion, that herself and the King her husband had made a treaty with the Pope, and that the Nuncio was sent by the Pope to her, and in her person to the King, and not the Confederate Catholics of *Ireland*. They added likewise, that such a visit would be consider'd then as an high transgression of the law of *England*, and very obnoxious to the royal party, since the Parliamentarians would gladly take occasion to excite the jealousy of the Protestants, who adher'd to the King, in order to induce them to abandon his Majesty ; by which means his enemies would have greatly the superiority. However the Queen was extremely desirous of a private visit from the Nuncio, that she might incline him to be favourable to the King's cause, and make use of him as a powerful instrument to keep the *Irish* Catholics within their duty to his Majesty, if she could not prevent his

voyage to *Ireland*. But the Nuncio was so zealous for the honour of the See of *Rome*, which he represented, that he refus'd to visit the Queen unless it was done in a solemn manner; and he wrote to Cardinal *Pamphilio* to consult the Pope on the affair; and on the 15th of *July*, the Cardinal return'd him an answer, to this purpose; " That the Pope's orders to the
 " Nuncio were, that by the intervention
 " of the Queen's confessor, or some other
 " person, whom he should think more
 " proper, he should inform her Majesty,
 " that the only design of his Holiness in
 " sending him to *Paris* before he went to
 " *Ireland*, was, that he should shew his re-
 " gard for her Majesty as sovereign of that
 " Island, and receive such orders from
 " her, as she should judge necessary for the
 " promotion of the Catholic Religion in
 " *Ireland*. That his Holiness was influenc'd
 " in this affair by no political motive, and
 " that if the Queen thought it would be
 " any prejudice to the interest of the King
 " her husband, or in any other respect in-
 " convenient, to admit the Nuncio to a
 " public or private audience, his Holiness
 " had

“ had not the least intention to expose
 “ them to such an inconvenience. Upon
 “ the whole, his Holiness left it to the
 “ discretion of the Nuncio, whether he
 “ would accept of a private audience; or
 “ employ a third person to deliver the
 “ Pope’s brief to the Queen, and to ne-
 “ gotiate affairs with her, which he thought
 “ might be better done in person *.”

THE day before the Queen went to reside
 at *St. Germain*s, which was on the 3d of
July, N. S. her Confessor, who was a *Scot*,
 visited the Nuncio, and express’d to him,
 how sorry her Majesty was, that she could
 not receive him with the proper honours,
 for the reasons mentioned above, and this
 new one, that the law of *England* did not
 allow the admission of ministers of foreign
 princes, except with the consent of the
 King and Council. The Queen was very
 well satisfied with what the Nuncio said in
 answer to the Confessor, and spoke of him
 in strong terms of approbation : And an
English gentleman [*nobilis*], a Catholic,
 whom he had desir’d to pay his compli-

D 3

ments

* Ibid. fol. 834, 835.

ments to the Queen at *St. Germain's*, on the 1st of *August* N. S. brought him back for answer, that her Majesty was fully persuaded of his good intentions to serve her, and extremely glad, that he was appointed to go to *Ireland*, " because, besides the advantage, which he would procure to the Catholic Religion, he would likewise assist " and promote the King's cause." The Queen's Confessor spoke to him also to the same purpose, and added, that her Majesty approv'd of the reasons, which he had urg'd, why he could not visit her Majesty, unless in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Prince, by whom he was sent. And both the Confessor and the Gentleman inform'd him, that the Queen had order'd Sir *Dudley Wyat*, an *English* gentleman, who was just arrived from *England*, to come to the Nuncio, and acquaint him with the situation of the King's affairs, having been sent by the King to the Queen immediately after the loss of the battle of *Naseby* on the 14th of *June*. He visited the Nuncio on the 3d of *August*, and assur'd him of the high esteem, which the Queen had for him, and the great hopes she entertain'd,

that

that by his means a firm peace might be made between the King and the *Irish*, in the present crisis, when his Majesty was in so much want of assistance; and that this was their mutual interest, the King being on the one hand reduc'd to such extremities, while on the other the *Irish*, if they by their rigour should force the King to agree with the Parliament, would, by the conjunction of *England* and *Scotland*, find themselves ruin'd and incapable of resisting so great a force. He insisted strongly upon this point, as a motive to the *Irish* to abate of their demands, and to agree to more moderate terms, and not to endeavour *to extort the whole at once*. He mention'd lastly the Queen's desire, that the Nuncio would stay at *Paris*, till that business should be finished, because she was in hopes, that his endeavours with the Pope would be of great use in giving success to an affair, which must be ardently wish'd for by all the Princes of *Europe*, who very justly trembled at the ruin of the King of *England*, perceiving the danger, which threatened all the Monarchies from the formidable conjunction of the forces of the *English* Parliamentarians,

liamentarians, the *Dutch*, and the *French Hugonots*. The Nuncio's answer was, that a solid peace might easily be made with the King, provided that the interests of the Catholic religion were secured. He observed likewise in his letter to Cardinal *Pamphilio*, that it would be a great advantage and honour to his legation, if, before he left *Paris*, the greatest part of the difficulties, which had occurred in the treaty in *Ireland*, could be adjusted, so that he might go thither with the olive-branch of peace, and by that means not be diverted in any manner from applying himself intirely to the restoration of the affairs of the church; and as the war would then be the common cause of the King and the *Irish* (which the Nuncio had long been of opinion ought to be carried on for the sake both of his Majesty and the *English* Catholics) it would be a proper opportunity to send the supplies immediately to *England**.

THE Nuncio sent a few days after *Dominico Spinola* to the Queen at *St. Germain*, to assure her of the Pope's and his own

* Ibid. fol. 838—840.

own zeal for her service; which her Majesty received very kindly, but complain'd of Father *Hartegan* and Secretary *Bellings* for insisting on exorbitant terms, and threatening to fight against the King to the last drop of their blood, if their demands were not complied with: but she hoped, that the Nuncio would be able to reduce the *Irish* to moderation and obedience. The Queen then turn'd the conversation to the subject of her desire of a private conference with the Nuncio, declaring, that she was satisfied with his reasons for declining it. The next day her Majesty sent to the Nuncio the *English* gentleman, who had been with him the week before, and who now inform'd him, that the Queen would send to the King her husband, to desire him to give her full powers for negotiating a peace.

THE Nuncio, after the receipt of Cardinal *Pamphilio*'s letter of the 15th. of *July*, sent *Spinola* again to the Queen, to acquaint her, that the Pope was unwilling, that she should suffer the least inconvenience by giving audience to the Nuncio. *Spinola* at the same time delivered to her Majesty

jesty the Pope's brief address'd to her, dated
 the 2d of *March* 1645, together with a
 letter from Cardinal *Pamphilio*, in which
 his Eminence observ'd, "That he had been
 " lately inform'd, how extremely desirous
 " the King and Queen of *England* were of
 " a peace with the *Irish*, that they might
 " have the assistance of that nation in the
 " distress'd situation of their affairs in *Eng-*
 " *land* : That this was likewise the most
 " ardent wish of his Holiness and the Nun-
 " cio now sent by him, of the royal party
 " in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* both
 " orthodox and heterodox, of the Queen
 " Regent of *France*, and of Cardinal *Ma-*
 " *zarin*, the minister of state there: And
 " that only the Parliamentary Rebels, and
 " the Heretics, who adher'd to them (for
 " there was scarce any one Catholic, who
 " did not espouse the royal cause) were
 " full of dreadful apprehensions, lest the
 " King should triumph by the assistance of
 " the Catholics, especially the *Irish*; since
 " those most profligate of all rebels since
 " the creation being detested by and de-
 " testing the *Irish*, presag'd nothing but
 " their

“ their own absolute destruction from such
 “ an event.”

SPINOLA having desired in the Nuncio's name the Queen's leave to depart for *Ireland*, her Majesty repeated the confidence she had in his good offices, and wished him a prosperous journey *.

WHILE the Nuncio continued at *Paris*, he received from *Rome* a memorial, which had been transmitted thither from the principal *English Roman Catholics*, representing their grievances, and desiring, that the *Irish* would insert among the articles of the peace, about which they were treating with the King, some conditions in favour of the Catholics of *England*: and that the peace be concluded upon such terms, as might
 secure

* Ibid. fol. 840—844.

Mr. Carte has given us a very imperfect account of the correspondence between the Queen and the Nuncio, while the latter was at *Paris*. His words are as follow, Vol. I. p. 560. “ One of his [the Nuncio's] attendants, *Dominic Spinola*, of a noble *Genoese* family, was sent to the Queen with the Pope's brief; and her Majesty made him her compliments by Sir *Dudley Wat.* The assurances recommended to be given were conveyed by the mediation of these two gentlemen; and the Nuncio left *Paris* without ever seeing her Majesty.”

secure the *Irish* in their own country, and at the same time enable them to come to his Majesty's assistance in *England* with a strong army, which should be joined by the *English* Catholics; so that by a conjunction of the Catholics of both nations an army might be formed capable of doing the King signal service, and securing his favour, in spite of the malice of their enemies. The *English* then laid down the conditions, which appeared requisite to render the service, expected by them from such an army, effectual, *viz.*

I. THAT the *Irish* do not come to *England* with less than ten or twelve thousand men; that they may subsist of themselves, without any fear of being cut off even by those *English* Protestants, who serve under his Majesty.

II. THAT two sea-port garisons be delivered up to them.

III. THAT the General and all the Officers be nam'd by the *Irish*.

IV.

IV. THAT the General be subject only to the immediate orders of the King.

V. THAT this army be kept together in a body, and not obliged to go upon any particular service, except by order from the General and council of war.

VI. THAT the *English* Catholics, by the King's command and authority, have a power of meeting in a body, and with a corps of horse, answerable to the *Irish* foot, forming one army.

VII. THAT the Catholic General of this body of *English* horse be such a man, as shall not be distrusted by the *Irish*, but approved of by the *Irish* General.

WITH regard to the conditions of peace to be made between the King and the *Irish*, they propos'd, that nothing should be omitted, which was essential and necessary to the complete establishment of the Catholic Religion in *Ireland*, without the least demand, that might tend to any change of
the

the political government; since such a demand would oblige the King to agree with the Parliament rather than with the *Irish*, which would be the ruin of both the *English* and *Irish* Catholics, who could not resist the united force of *England* and *Scotland**.

THE other means, by which they were of opinion, that peace might be the more easily procured between the King and the *Irish* Catholics, was to engage the Queen to undertake the promoting of it with the King: and for this purpose his Holiness would have great weight, partly by his paternal admonitions to her Majesty; partly, and that more effectually, by an express refusal of the subsidies, which her Majesty was resolved to request, as soon as Sir *Kenelm Digby* should arrive at *Rome*, except upon this condition, that the King should grant beforehand the just demands of the *Irish* with regard to religion; “ since the King
“ was not to be trusted, when once his in-
“ terest might tempt him to agree with his
“ Parliament, to whom he had often so-
“ lemnly

* Ibid. fol. 845.

“ lemnly declared his resolution to consent
 “ to any severities against the Catholics;
 “ and his word was not to be relied on, as
 “ appeared from the case of the Earl of
 “ *Strafford* and the Bishops, whom he sa-
 “ crificed, after he had sworn to protect
 “ them.” They desired therefore, that if
 the Pope should grant the King any assist-
 ance, his Majesty should agree; 1. That all
 the penal laws against the Catholics in *Ire-*
land be abrogated. 2. That, the oath of
 allegiance be abolished. 3. That the Ca-
 tholics be as capable of any honours, posts,
 offices, &c. in the kingdom and parlia-
 ment, as any other subjects. 4. That the
 King shall not agree with the Parliament,
 unless the latter should ratify the articles a-
 bove mentioned. 5. That to confirm these
 articles, all the strong places in *Ireland* be
 put into the hands of the *English* and *Irish*
 Catholics.

THEY concluded with observing, that if
 the King would consent to an abrogation of
 the penal laws against the Catholics, and of
 the oath of allegiance, and to a liberty of
 their religion, in such a manner, as that
 they

they should be equally capable with other subjects of posts and offices, and of sitting in Parliament, it was reasonable to hope for the *Conversion* of the whole kingdom in a few years, which would so greatly contribute to the absolute extirpation of *Herefy* in the North*.

BUT the Protestants about the King and Queen being apprehensive of the consequences of their Majesties purchasing the assistance of the Catholics upon these terms, used their utmost efforts to prevent them from consenting to them: Upon which account the King was in the greatest perplexity of mind imaginable, not daring to discover to his counsellors his secret conviction, that it would be most for his advantage to put himself intirely into the hands of the Catholics; which he was afterwards determined to do, when it was too late †, as is evident from a letter of his to the Earl of Glamorgan

* Ibid. fol. 850—852.

† Itaque Carolus pendeat animi, & fluctuabat inter hæreticas fraudes alienis pigmentis depictas, apertamque veritatem patrocínio ita destitutam & inermem, ut tamen invitum & quamlibet reluctanter traheret ad agnoscendum corde, quod consiliariis apertè non auderet, solos scilicet esse Catholicos, quibus se totum committeret. Fol. 853.

Glamorgan from *Newcastle*, which will be inserted in the course of this history †:

However her Majesty, who, according to the Nuncio's *Memoirs* ‡, was *Queen* not so much of the nation as of the King, and had the sole rather than the chief ascendant in the government ||, and had been impowered by the King in a letter of *March* 5th, 1644-5, "to promise in his name to "whom she thought fit, that he would "take away all the *penal laws against the "Roman Catholics in England*, as soon "as God should enable him to do it, so as "by their means, or in their favours, he "might have so powerful assistance, as might "deserve so great a favour, and enable him "to do it *;" resolving to make use of the assistance of the Pope, sent to *Rome* Sir *Kennelm Digby*, son of Sir *Everard Digby*, who was executed for the gunpowder-plot, to solicit it, soon after she heard of the Nuncio's

† Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 852, 853.

‡ Ibid. fol. 854.

|| *Regi, juxta ac par esset, adeò fuit cara [Regina] ut non tam Regni, quam ipsius Regis Reginam ageret, & in regimine plus sola quam potior esse videretur.*

* King *Charles I's Works*, Vol. I. p. 331.

Nuncio's being appointed to go to *Ireland*: And upon the intelligence of Sir *Kenelm*'s journey to *Rome*, the above mentioned *Memorial* of the *English* Catholics, about the terms of assisting the King, was sent to the Nuncio at *Paris*; who received likewise from Cardinal *Pamphilio* a copy of a memorial presented by Sir *Kenelm* to the Pope, in which he represented, that no better method could be taken to restore the Catholic religion to *Great-Britain* in its antient splendor, than that his Holiness should transmit his subsidies to the King, and Queen, and the united body of the Catholics in *England*. Whence Cardinal *Pamphilio* inferr'd, that the Queen had signified to the Pope, that she was desirous of propagating the Catholic religion in that way; and that Sir *Kenelm*, among other inducements to engage the Pope to grant his subsidies, had magnified the good disposition of the King, as well as of the Queen, for the promotion of the Catholic cause *.

BUT the Nuncio in his remarks upon Sir *Kenelm*'s *Memorial* declared it as his opinion,

* Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 855, 856.

nion, that it would be very improper to divide the subsidies to be given to the King from those to be sent to the *Irish*; since, by such a division, the King's share would not be sufficient for his service, and would be consumed by the Protestants, who had the direction of his finances, as they had done a subsidy of 100,000 crowns, given his Majesty by the King of *France*, as the Nuncio was assured by Cardinal *Mazarin*: That the *English* Catholics despaired of the King's being able to give a fuller declaration in their favour than he had hitherto done, because he was surrounded with *Heretics*, who, if they could not intercept his Majesty's inclination, would certainly prevent him from any possibility of shewing it. For which reason these *English* Catholics were convinc'd, that there was no other way of obtaining the end proposed, than by an absolute pacification in *Ireland* in the first place, which kingdom would then be enabled to transport a strong body of troops into *England*, who being joined by the Catholics of that kingdom would form so powerful an army, as would at once serve his Majesty, and be a bridle to him, and oblige

him to perform that, which he could not do, if left to himself *.

THE Pope, on his part, demanded, that the King should return to the bosom of the church, or at least, abrogate the penal laws against the Catholics. But Sir *Kenelm Digby* not being able to undertake for this, continued several months at *Rome* in his solicitations to the Pope, and writing frequently to the *Queen* on the affair; who, in a point of such vast consequence, being obliged to conform herself to the King's pleasure intimated to her from *England*, Sir *Kenelm's* embassy was protracted a considerable time. However, in the meanwhile the Pope gave a subsidy to be transmitted to the King and *Queen*, but less than he would have granted, if they had consented to the conditions demanded in favour of the *English* and *Irish* Catholics; as he afterwards, when those conditions were consented to, determined to grant much larger subsidies †.

IN

* Fol. 858.

† Fol. 861.

IN the mean time the Queen endeavour'd to procure a peace with the *Irish*, offering them the guaranty of the Queen Regent of *France* *; upon which subject the

* Lord *Fermyn* in a letter to the Lord *Digby*, dated at *Paris*, Aug. 5, 1645, a copy of which was taken in Lord *Digby*'s cabinet at the battle of *Sherborn*, Oct. 15, 1645, and publish'd in *Husbands's Collection*, p. 852, writes as follows: " Sir *Kenelm Digby* writes
 " hopefully of supplies of money from *Rome*, but concludes nothing, the *Irish* troubling all our Solas, until the peace be made with them. I fear all Catholic help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpose I
 " must tell you with what amazement the delays of the peace in *Ireland* is considered here; and you have left us so ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to say of it. Pray, by
 " the return of this bearer, or the first likely passage, send me the state of it, their demand, the King of
 " *England*'s offers, and what you know of the difficulties. If yet it be not concluded, it is not like it ever
 " will by those that manage it now. And therefore it seems to me, for satisfaction of those, that so much
 " press it, of the *Irish*, and to satisfy this state, who are much of that opinion, and to secure our hopes at
 " *Rome*, and lastly, to put that business into a possibility of being concluded, that the proposition, long since
 " made to the King of having the treaty made here by the Queen and Queen Regent, were not unfitly resumed. For I am confident the King, by this means,
 " might have the peace upon better terms, and might limit the Queen by the same instructions, that those,
 " that now treat, are bound by; and upon this one of these fruits would follow, that either — should have
 " the peace; or the exorbitancy of their demands would be so apparent to the Queen Regent, that we
 " should have great advantage by that. The only
 " thing

the Nuncio wrote a letter to Cardinal *Pamphilio* on the 14th of *July*, wherein he mentioned, that three days before the Lord *Jermyn* had been sent by the Queen to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to desire, that his Eminence would interpose in making peace between the King and the *Irish*, his Majesty having furnished her with sufficient powers for that purpose. And the Nuncio was of opinion, that all readiness should be shewn to the conclusion of a peace with the King, that the forces of both sides being united might be employ'd against the *common enemy* *.

Cardinal *Pamphilio*, in his answer of the 7th of *August* to the Nuncio, ordered the latter,

“ thing I fear is, that *the King's party in Ireland*
 “ *might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace*, as would
 “ be fit for the King to make; and then he would
 “ have the *scandal* of it (for it would be a *scandalous*
 “ *one*, that is unavoidable) without the benefit of an
 “ assistance from *Ireland*. To conclude, if nothing be
 “ done in *Ireland*, I think it most necessary, that *the*
 “ *offers of treating be withdrawn from thence*; and that
 “ the Queen may be trusted to treat and conclude with
 “ the Queen Regent here, with such as the Catholics
 “ in *Ireland* shall appoint. This I write to you, to
 “ consider of it. By the return of Sir *Dudley Wyatt*
 “ you shall know more of this particular.”

* Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 862,

latter, in the Pope's name, to go immediately to *Ireland*, since he would have much greater advantages in promoting the interests of the Catholic religion by residing near the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, than at *Paris*; tho' the Queen was desirous, that he should continue in that city, till the peace should be concluded with the *Irish* by the mediation of *France*. However, Cardinal *Pamphilio* having repeated his orders to the Nuncio on the 21st of *August* for hastening his journey to *Ireland* *, he left *Paris* on the 29th or 30th of *August* †, and on the 4th of *October* met at *Rockelle* *Zepherine Baron*, agent for the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, who was going to *Paris*, and brought him a letter from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, in which he assured him, that, in his whole negotiation between the King and the *Irish*, he was resolved to proceed in concert with the Nuncio, whose arrival he expected with the utmost impatience ‡. He received likewise a paper dated the 3d of *October* 1645, from the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, inviting him

E 4

to

* Fol. 863-866.

† Fol. 902. b.

‡ Fol. 911.

to *Ireland*, and representing the terms, which they promised him to insist upon for the establishment of their religion *. The Nuncio accordingly made all possible haste thither, embarking at *St. Martin's* the 16th of *October*, and landed on the 22d in the bay of *Killmair*, having narrowly escaped being taken by a parliament frigate in his passage; and arrived at *Kilkenny* on the 12th of *November* †; where we shall leave him, in order to resume the history of the Earl of *Glamorgan*.

THE Earl left *Oxford* in *March* 1644-5, in company with Sir *Brian O Neile* and some *Romish* priests, and went to *Wales* ‡; whence he sent a gentleman with instructions to his Majesty, wherein he put his Majesty in mind of his *Commission*. The instructions are subscrib'd *Edward Bosden*, and dated *March* 21, 1644, and intitled *The Earl of Glamorgan's instructions to me*,

* Fol. 915.

† Fol. 927, 950.

‡ *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 550.

me, to be presented to your Majesty. They begins thus *:

“ THAT, God willing, by the end of
“ May or beginning of June, he will land
“ with 6000 *Irish*.

“ THAT the gentlemen of the several
“ counties of *Monmouth, Glamorgan, Breck-*
“ *nock, and Carmarthen*, will very speedily,
“ for your Majesty's service in securing
“ these parts, raise and arm four thou-
“ sand men.

“ THAT with the ships, which shall bring
“ over the *Irish*, his Lordship designs to
“ block up *Milford Haven*, at which time
“ he doubts not to draw these *Welsh* forces
“ into *Pembrokeshire*.

“ THAT to advance these his undertak-
“ ings, he hath thirty thousand pounds
“ ready, ten thousand muskets, two thou-
“ sand

* The King's Cabinet open'd : or certain packets or
secret letters and papers written with the King's own
hand, taken in his cabinet at *Naseby Field*, p. 19. *Edit.*
London, 1645, in 4to.

“ sand case of pistols, eight hundred barrels
 “ of powder, besides his own artillery;
 “ and is ascertained of thirty thousand
 “ pounds more, which will be ready upon
 “ his return.

“ THAT he hath intelligence from his
 “ ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dun-*
 “ *kirkers* come in daily to him.

“ IN order to this service he commanded
 “ me humbly to put your Majesty in mind
 “ of his *Commission*; and that he may in
 “ fitting time have such command in these
 “ counties, as may be suitable to his em-
 “ ployment, and conducing to the service
 “ in hand; these being counties, in which
 “ (if other designs of landing fail) he can
 “ land in, &c.

THE Marquis of *Ormonde* had very early notice of the Earl's intended voyage to *Ireland* from his friend Mr. *Arthur Trevor*, who in a letter from *Bristol* of 9 April 1645, wrote to him as follows *; the words included in the brackets being, I presume, written

* *Carte's* Collection of original letters and papers concerning the affairs of *England* from the year 1641 to 1660, Vol. I. p. 80—82.

written in cypher: " [The Lord *Herbert*
 " with many of his religious great philoso-
 " phers of faith are gone into *Ireland*. I
 " know not what affections he may have,
 " religion being in design; but I am very
 " doubtful, he hath none to the M. of *Or-*
 " *monde*, nor others, that eat often with the
 " M. of *Ormonde*.] Dr. *Price*, that was
 " taken with Sir *H. Tichburne* and the rest,
 " is escaped, and tells me of some letters
 " written from *Oxford* [by *Brian O Neile*
 " and others to some of the *Irish* party
 " very prejudicial to the peace and Marquis
 " of *Ormonde*.] I shall forbear in this the
 " particulars, being assured by Dr. *Price*,
 " that copies of them are by the endea-
 " vours of Sir *H. Tichburne* transmitted
 " to your Excellence. I beseech your
 " Lordship, look well about you in a busi-
 " ness of so vast importance, having [to do
 " with men, that love not your person.]
 " Yet I believe good use may be made of
 " Lord *Herbert*, as the Marquis of *Or-*
 " *monde* may treat him. He certainly
 " loves the King as much as any man of
 " his religion now do, and will not think
 " himself ill entertained to have the op-
 " portunity

“ portunity given him of making the
 “ inventory of his doing for the King.

“ I hear much of [Lord *Herbert's*]
 “ *commission*. As I hear it, [*the Mar-*
 “ *quis of Ormonde*] is not taken notice
 “ of in it. If it be so, I beseech you get a
 “ copy of it. [*Daniel O Neile*] told me,
 “ he was to pass into [*Ireland*] upon very
 “ important affairs; but that resolution is
 “ now over. I cannot imagine what this
 “ matter of weight should be, unless it was
 “ to have a share in that *commission*; to
 “ which I am induc'd, because that fiddling
 “ fellow [of his name *] was, and went
 “ into [*Ireland* with Lord *Herbert*] and
 “ the rest of the philosophers of faith.”

THE Earl of *Glamorgan* having embark'd
 on board a small vessel, was near being
 taken by a parliament ship, which pursued
 him till he took refuge in a part of *Cum-*
berland †. But before he left *Wales*, he
 wrote a letter to the Marquis of *Ormonde*,
 as

* Sir *Bryan O Neile*.

† *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, vol. I.
 p. 550.

as appears from the following passage of one from the Marquis to the Lord Digby, dated at *Dublin, May 8th 1645* *.

“ Though I have no *full knowledge* of
 “ what Lord *Herbert* was to bring with
 “ him; yet by his letter to me out of
 “ *Wales*, I guess his missing this place
 “ was a *great misfortune to the King's*
 “ *service*, even in relation to the credit I
 “ found the *Irish* were apt to give to his
 “ advices and undertakings; and there-
 “ fore if he be where he can get once more
 “ to the water's side, and will venture
 “ over, I am very confident the little frigate
 “ I now send to stay the return of the
 “ bearer, will land him in some safe port
 “ of *Ireland*.”

THE Earl arriv'd at *Dublin* about the end of *July* or beginning of *August* †, and was present at one of the meetings of the Deputies of the Confederate Catholics with the Marquis of *Ormonde* at *Dublin*;

* Ibid. vol. III. p. 405.

† Ibid. vol. I. p. 550.

Dublin; who refusing to comply with their demands, the Lord *Muskerry* and the other Deputies return'd to *Kilkenny*, to give an account of their ill success to the supreme Council there, on the 7th of *August*; about which time the Earl of *Glamorgan* went likewise to *Kilkenny*, in order to execute his commission for treating with the confederate Catholics*. And on the 11th of that month, the Marquis of *Ormonde* wrote the following letter to the Lord *Muskerry* †.

“ *My Lord,*

“ **T**Hough I am persuaded, that the
 “ points, which you and the other
 “ Deputies have agreed to in the presence
 “ of my Lord *Glamorgan* and myself,
 “ are still fresh in your memory; yet considering, that the weight and importance of a timely execution of the
 “ business, which you then were inclin'd
 “ to expedite, is now twice as great as it
 “ was before, on account as well of some
 “ incidents,

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 716, 717.

† Ibid. fol. 717, 718.

“ incidents, which have lately happen’d
 “ in *England*, as of your own security;
 “ and observing, that in our meeting on
 “ this affair you express’d a desire, that I
 “ should act in concert with my Lord
 “ *Glamorgan*; I think it necessary, that I
 “ should remind, and in this way acquaint
 “ your Lordship with that, which I could not
 “ insist on in his Lordship’s presence, without
 “ offending his modesty, and incurring the
 “ imputation of flattery. What I have to
 “ say in short is this, that I know no sub-
 “ ject in *England*, upon whose *favour and*
 “ *authority with his Majesty*, and real
 “ and innate nobility you can better rely,
 “ than upon his Lordship’s; nor (if that
 “ has any weight with you) any person,
 “ whom I would more endeavour to serve
 “ in those things, which he shall under-
 “ take for the service of his Majesty, or
 “ with whom I shall sooner agree for the
 “ benefit of this kingdom. I rest

“ *Your Lordship’s*

“ *Most affectionate*

“ *Servant & Brother,*

“ *Ormonde.*”

Dublin, Aug. 11. 1645.

THIS

THIS letter was afterwards, towards the end of this year, deliver'd to the Nuncio by the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, as a proof, that the Marquis of *Ormonde* would support the agreement, which had been, or should be made between them and the Earl of *Glamorgan*; tho' the Marquis afterwards disappointed their expectations*. And indeed throughout the whole negotiation, he was absolutely averse to any agreement with the *Irish* upon their terms, notwithstanding he was sensible of the King's impatience for a peace with them. The Confederate Catholics therefore resolv'd to prosecute the treaty with the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who consented to those articles, which the Marquis refused†. And tho' *Abbate Scarampi*, the Pope's agent in *Ireland*, delivered a paper to the Confederates against their scheme of making peace *publickly* with the Marquis, and *privately* with the Earl, and disjoining the *religious* from the *political articles*; yet the treaty was concluded between the Earl

* Ibid. fol. 718. b.

† Id. ibid. fol. 718, 719.

Earl and the *Irish* Commissioners, on the 25th of *August* 1645*. It began thus †:

“ WHEREAS much time has been spent
 “ in meetings and debates, between his
 “ Excellency *James* Lord Marquis of
 “ *Ormonde*, Lord Lieutenant and General
 “ Governor of his Majesty's Kingdom of
 “ *Ireland*, Commissioner to the King's
 “ most excellent Majesty *Charles*, by the
 “ grace of GOD, King of *Great Britain*,
 “ *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. for the treat-
 “ ing and concluding of a peace in the
 “ said kingdom with his Majesty's humble
 “ and loyal subjects, the Confederate and
 “ *Roman* Catholics of the said kingdom
 “ of *Ireland*, of the one part, and the
 “ Right Honourable *Donogh* Lord Vis-
 “ count *Muskerry*, and others, Commis-
 “ sioners deputed and authorized by the
 “ said Confederate *Roman* Catholic sub-
 “ jects of the other part: And thereupon
 “ many difficulties did arise, by occasion
 “ whereof *sundry matters of weight and*
 F “ *consequence,*

* Ibid. fol. 719—726.

† *Rushworth*, Part IV. Vol. I. p. 242.

“ consequence, necessarily requisite to be
 “ condescended unto by his Majesty’s said
 “ Commissioner, for the safety of the said
 “ Confederate Roman Catholics, were
 “ not hitherto agreed upon ; which re-
 “ tarded, and doth as yet retard, the con-
 “ clusion of a firm peace and settlement in
 “ the said kingdom : And whereas the
 “ Right Honourable Edward Earl of
 “ Glamorgan is intrusted and authorized
 “ by his Most Excellent Majesty, to grant
 “ and assure to the said Confederate Ca-
 “ tholic subjects further grace and fa-
 “ vours, which the said Lord Lieutenant
 “ did not as yet in that latitude, as they
 “ expected, grant unto them : And the
 “ said Earl having seriously considered of
 “ all means and due circumstances of the
 “ great affairs now in agitation, which is
 “ the peace and quiet of the said kingdom,
 “ and the importance thereof in order to
 “ his Majesty’s service, and in relation to
 “ a peace and settlement in his other king-
 “ doms ; and here, upon the place, having
 “ seen the ardent desire of the said Catho-
 “ lics to assist his Majesty against all,
 “ that do or shall oppose his royal right or
 “ monarchic

“ *monarchic government*; and having dis-
 “ cerned the alacrity and chearfulness of
 “ the said Catholics to embrace honourable
 “ conditions of peace, which may preserve
 “ their religion and other just interests: In
 “ pursuance therefore of *his Majesty’s au-*
 “ *thority under his Highness’s signature*
 “ *royal and signet*, bearing date at Oxon
 “ the 12th of *March*, in the twentieth
 “ year of his Majesty’s reign, granted unto
 “ the said Earl of *Glamorgan*; the tenour
 “ whereof is as followeth, *viz. Charles*
 “ *R. &c.* [ut supra p. 20.]

By this treaty it was accorded and agreed
 between the said Earl of *Glamorgan* for
 and on behalf of his Majesty, his heirs
 and successors on the one part, and *Richard*
 Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, Lord President
 of the Supreme Council of the Confederate
 Catholics, *Donogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*,
 &c. Commissioners appointed by the said
 Confederate *Roman* Catholics, on the other
 part;

I. THAT all the professors of the *Roman*
 Catholic religion in *Ireland* shall enjoy
 F 2 the

the free and public use and exercise of their religion.

II. THAT they shall hold and enjoy all the churches by them enjoy'd within that kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of *October* 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such, as are now actually enjoy'd by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

III. THAT all the *Roman* Catholics shall be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy; and that the *Roman* Catholic Clergy shall not be punished or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks.

IV. THAT the following act shall be passed in the next Parliament to be holden in *Ireland*. [*Here is inserted the form of an Act for securing all the King's concessions to the Catholics.*]

V. THAT the Marquis of *Ormonde*, or any others, shall not disturb the Professors
of

of the *Roman* Catholic religion in possession of the articles above specified.

VI. THE Earl of *Glamorgan* engages his Majesty's word for the performance of those articles

VII. THAT the public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl by the Commissioners of the Confederate Catholics, for sending ten thousand men by order and public declaration of the General Assembly at *Kilkenny*, armed the one half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, to serve his Majesty in *England*, *Wales*, or *Scotland*, under the command of the said Earl of *Glamorgan*, as Lord General of the said army; which army is to be kept together in one intire body; and all other the officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the Supreme Council of the said Confederate Catholics, or by such others, as the General Assembly of the said Confederate Catholics of *Ireland* shall intrust therewith.

THE *Irish* Commissioners engaged their word and the faith of the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, that two thirds of the clergy's revenues should be employed for the space of three years towards the maintenance of the ten thousand men, the other third being reserved for the clergy's subsistence.

THERE was likewise an explanation of the article, concerning the clergy-livings; upon which the following instrument was made :

“ WHEREAS in these articles touching
 “ the clergy-livings, the right honourable
 “ the Earl of *Glamorgan* is obliged in his
 “ Majesty's behalf to secure the concessions
 “ in these articles by act of Parliament :
 “ We holding that manner of securing those
 “ grants, as to the clergy-livings, to prove
 “ more difficult and prejudicial to his Ma-
 “ jesty than by doing thereof, and securing
 “ those concessions otherwise, as to the said
 “ livings, the said Earl undertaking and pro-
 “ mising in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs
 “ and successors, as hereby he doth under-
 “ take to settle the said concessions, and se-
 “ cure

“ cure them to the clergy, and their respec-
 “ tive successors, in another secure way, o-
 “ ther than by parliament, at present, till a fit
 “ opportunity be offered for securing the
 “ same, do agree and condescend there-
 “ unto. And this instrument by his Lord-
 “ ship signed was, before the perfecting
 “ thereof, intended to that purpose, as to
 “ the said livings, to which purpose we
 “ have mutually signed this endorsement.
 “ And it is further intended, that the Ca-
 “ tholic Clergy shall not be interrupted by
 “ Parliament, or otherwise, as to the said
 “ livings, contrary to the meaning of these
 “ articles.”

THE Earl added also the following pro-
 testation on oath : “ I *Edward* Earl of *Gla-*
 “ *morgan* do protest and swear, faithfully to
 “ acquaint the King’s most excellent Majesty,
 “ with the proceedings of this kingdom in
 “ order to his service, and to the endear-
 “ ment of this nation, and punctual per-
 “ formance of what I have (*as authorized*
 “ *by his Majesty*) obliged myself to see per-
 “ form’d; and, in default, not to permit the
 “ army intrusted to my charge to adven-

ture itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty, be performed.

“ *Glamorgan.* ”

BUT the General Assembly at *Kilkenny*, being apprehensive, that the execution of this treaty of peace might meet with opposition from a Protestant Lord Lieutenant, made the following order, on the 28th of *August*, 1645, viz. * “ The General Assembly order and declare, that their union and oath of association shall remain firm and inviolable, and in full strength, in all points, and to all purposes, until the articles of the intended peace shall be ratified in Parliament; notwithstanding any proclamation of the peace, &c.”

UPON the Nuncio's arrival at *Kilkenny*, the Supreme Council there laid before him an account of the situation of their affairs, and the reasons of their conduct; and represented to him, that the Marquis
of

* *Cox's History of Ireland*, vol. II. p. 152. and *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 734.

of *Ormonde* having refus'd them satisfaction, with regard to the free exercise of their religion, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, a Nobleman of great trust with the King, and a sincere Catholic, had come to *Ireland* in *August*, to represent to the Catholics the necessity of sending assistance to his Majesty into *England*, and brought with him full powers from his Majesty sign'd with his own hand, and seal'd with his private signet, in order that he might *privately* give satisfaction to the Catholics in those points, which retarded the conclusion of the peace; because if those concessions should be made public at present, it might be followed by this dangerous consequence, that the Protestants, who now adher'd to the King, would abandon him. To avoid which inconvenience, the *publication* of these concessions was thought proper to be deferr'd, till the forces design'd to be sent to his Majesty should arrive in *England*; when he might more confidently and securely avow and confirm the concessions made by his authority by the Earl of *Glamorgan*. That besides this negotiation
with

with that Earl, they had endeavour'd likewise to procure some concessions in favour of their religion, from the Lord Lieutenant, who had the *public authority* of his Majesty, but not so ample a one, in that respect, as the Earl; for which purpose their Deputies went in *September* to *Dublin*, to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, and continued there ten weeks; which time was spent in pressing the concessions relating to religion, and taking care, that nothing should be inserted in the articles of pacification, which was contrary to, or inconsistent with the *private concessions* made by the Earl. But the terms, which the Lord Lieutenant would grant, especially with regard to religion, were by no means such, as were satisfactory to them. This being the situation of their affairs, it was a matter of serious consideration, what further steps were to be taken; and what was necessary to be done to preserve and promote the Catholic Religion in that kingdom, and likewise to support his Majesty's crown and authority; since, if the Parliament should gain the ascendant, it was impossible to conceive, how that Nation, when

2

left

left to itself in its present exhausted and depopulated condition, could at all resist the power of the Parliament; which ought immediately to be taken into consideration, as the Cessation was to continue only to the 17th of *December* following *.

THE Supreme Council, in another paper, answer'd the three following objections against the prosecution of the peace † :
 1. That the *concessions* with regard to *Religion* were not *publish'd* for the present, in the *articles of pacification*. 2. That the force of these *concessions* depended merely on the *life* of the *King*, and the *Earl of Glamorgan*. 3. That the government would fall into the hands of a Lord Lieutenant of another religion. With respect to the first objection, they observ'd, that these concessions in their full extent could not be *avow'd* or *publish'd* by *his Majesty*, consistently with the safety of himself or the Confederate Catholics. For if he should take such a step, before he was supported by the army to be sent him
 into

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 976, 977.

† *Ibid.* fol. 994.

into *England*, and the body of Catholics, who would join that army, it was to be apprehended, that all the Protestants, or at least the principal of them, would abandon him, go over to the Parliament, and fight both against his Majesty and the Catholics; and having made peace at home, easily destroy both. In answer to the second objection, they alledg'd, that if the King should die, or refuse to execute the concessions made by the Earl of *Glamorgan* by his Authority, the Confederate Catholics would be still in the same condition, in which they were at present; or even in a much better, because many of them were of opinion, that good terms were granted them, which would be perform'd; and that their leading men were so fond of war, as to be ready to expose every thing to danger; so that if the peace should be neglected now, there would be danger of a defection of many weak persons. But if the King should not perform the above mentioned conditions, or die, all the *Irish* Catholics, and indeed other *Irish* of great quality, being destitute of any other resource, would chearfully adhere

here to them ; and if his Majesty should disappoint their expectations in the present concessions, they would never believe, that any other terms would be perform'd. And as for the third objection, with respect to the Lord Lieutenant, they answer'd, *That many things fall between the cup and the lip* ; and that it was very uncertain, when that event should take place.

THE Nuncio then applied himself to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who not only communicated to him the King's Commissions, by which he had made the treaty of the 25th of *August*, but deliver'd to him the King's letter to the Nuncio of the 30th of *April* inserted above, and shew'd him another letter of his Majesty's, seal'd and address'd to the Pope, and superscrib'd *Beatissimo Patri Innocentio decimo* *.

THE Nuncio was at first in doubt, whether he ought to receive a letter from an heretical Prince, without the Pope's leave ;

* Ibid. fol. 998—1002.

leave *. But this difficulty was remov'd by considering, that he had a general authority for treating with all heretics; and that the Pope was inclin'd to favour the King's cause, in order to the advancement of the Catholic Religion †.

THE Earl of Glamorgan, knowing of how much importance the Nuncio's interest would

* *Speſtandam quoque mihi dedit, inter multas alias ſcripturas, Regis epistolam, quartâ folii parte, ſigillatam figurâ minimâ, & directam ad ſuam Sanctitatem hoc titulo, Beatiffimo Patri Innocentio decimo, non declarans, nec quid contineret, nec quando eſſet dirigenda; & demum mihi præſentavit unas literas à ſua Majeſtate ad me ipſum directas, formâ ordinariâ, obſignatis binis locis ſigillo parvo, ſuperſcriptas Gallicè, datas præterito Aprilis die 30. Magnum dubium mihi mentem agitavit, nunquid epistolam a Principe hæretico, abſque ſue Sanctitatis licentiâ, accipere debeam. Sed poſt varias rei penſitationes conſultius duxi accipere, &c.* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1002. Mr. Carte vol. I. p. 557. aſſerts, that the Nuncio reſuſed to receive the King's letter to the Pope; which does not appear to have been then offer'd to be deliver'd to him, but only ſhewn him: *ſpeſtandam mihi dedit . . . Regis epistolam, &c.* And for a tranſlation of theſe words, *Nec plus percipio, cur miſſum non fuerit ſaltem illud epistolium ad ſuam Sanctitatem*, he gives us this gloſs of his own; "The Nuncio
" could not conceive, how a letter of ſo antient a date
" ſhould be ſent to him to tranſmit to the Pope, when
" there was a much better and readier way of ſending
" by the Queen, who was then at Paris; and there-
" fore reſuſed to receive it."

† Ibid. fol. 1002.

would be to him with the Pope, and the Clergy and People of *Ireland*, deliver'd also to him a paper in *Italian*, containing the heads, not only of the commissions above mention'd, but even of much larger. This paper was intitled, *Patents and Commissions granted to me by the King my master, with which I desire to serve the Catholic religion, the Apostolic See, and your most illustrious and reverend Lordship, still observing my duty and obedience to my King.* In this paper the Earl particularly mentions the patent granted him from the King, of the 1st of *April*, 1644, inserted above; and a commission to coin money any where in the King's dominions, and to impower others to do the same; to name one Secretary of State, a Treasurer, either the Attorney or Solicitor General, and two of the Privy Council in *England*; and to make concessions in point of religion in *Ireland*, by way of supplement to the Lord Lieutenant's authority *.

THE

* Ibid. fol. 1004.

THE Earl wrote also a letter to the Nuncio from *Kilkenny*, on the 22d of *November*, in which he profess'd great devotion to the See of *Rome*, and esteem for and attachment to the Nuncio; and declar'd his resolution to proceed in conjunction with him in the great affair depending for the advantage of religion, the King his master, and the Apostolic See *.

THE Nuncio being now thoroughly acquainted with the proceedings of the Supreme Council and the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and of the posture of affairs in *Ireland*, thought proper in *December*, 1645, to deliver his own opinion in a *Latin* Speech to that Council at *Kilkenny*, which he afterwards gave them in writing. In this speech he inform'd them †, " That the Pope's instructions to him related to two points, *viz.* that he should " take care, that the *Irish* should maintain " an inviolable fidelity, in the first place " to

* Ibid. fol. 1021.

† Ibid. fol. 1005—1009.

" to God and religion, and then to their
 " King; which could no other way be
 " more easily effected, than, after having
 " establish'd a free exercise of the Catho-
 " lic religion, by making peace with their
 " Sovereign. That as the *political* ar-
 " ticles of peace, to be made with the
 " Lord Lieutenant, were to be *publish'd im-*
 " *mediately*, and the *religious* ones, con-
 " cluded with the Earl of Glamorgan, to
 " be *kept secret*, till they were *ratified* by
 " the *King*, it would appear to foreigners,
 " who knew nothing of that treaty, that
 " this peace was made on account of *pri-*
 " *vate* and *temporal advantages*, and not
 " for the honour and freedom of Religion;
 " which would occasion great scandal a-
 " mong all Catholics, and great triumph to
 " the Heretics. Nor did it seem a sufficient
 " answer to this, that the concessions with
 " regard to religion would be publish'd and
 " made known to every body, after the
 " King had confirm'd them; because in
 " fact, besides that the scandal above-
 " mentioned would not be remov'd by
 " this means, the whole affair depended
 " upon a future event. And tho' there

“ was no doubt to be made of the pro-
 “ mises of a great prince ; yet on the
 “ other hand a doubt might arise, about
 “ the situation and condition the King
 “ might be in, when the time for con-
 “ firming the concessions should come :
 “ for it was not unusual for even power-
 “ ful Princes to be reduc’d sometimes by
 “ various accidents into such exigences,
 “ that, tho’ willing to do much, they can
 “ perform but little, and are even oblig’d,
 “ against their wills, to grant or refuse
 “ many things, or at least to suspend their
 “ intentions. Besides, if it should happen,
 “ (which God forbid,) that the Earl of
 “ *Glamorgan* should die in the mean while,
 “ who could press any further the confir-
 “ mation of the concessions, or explain
 “ the whole course of this negotiation ?
 “ It is certain, that in this and the like
 “ cases, all Christian Princes, even when
 “ they shall be inform’d of these *private*
 “ *concessions*, as well as the enemies of
 “ the *Irish* Catholics, would say, that they
 “ had taken diligent and safe precautions
 “ about those things, which related to
 “ their temporal state ; but had trusted
 “ their

" their spiritual and religious concerns to
 " uncertain events. That with regard to the
 " plea, that the publication of the *religi-*
 " *ous articles* could not be made at pre-
 " sent, because the King's agents were ap-
 " prehensive, lest the publication might
 " alienate the Protestants from his Ma-
 " jesty; this ought to be an example to
 " the Supreme Council, that they might
 " not alienate the Pope and all Christian
 " Princes from themselves, and should
 " determine them to publish the *religious*
 " *articles* with the others, or at least to
 " suppress both, till the King had confirm'd
 " them."

THE Nuncio insisted likewise upon the
 necessity of having a *Catholic* Lord Lieu-
 tenant; and argued against some of the ar-
 ticles of the peace, as particularly, that
 there was no mention made of Catholic
 Bishops, and the erecting of universities; and
 that the government was to be chang'd,
 and the Supreme Council abrogated, as
 soon as the peace should be concluded.

THE Supreme Council, in their answer to the Nuncio, repeated the grounds, upon which they prosecuted the peace; and observ'd, that when the King saw, that the Catholic Confederates could not be induc'd to desist from the war, and assist him, but by his consenting to the restoration of their religion, he had sent the Earl of *Glamorgan*, eminent for his rank, character, and hereditary zeal for that religion, to offer them satisfaction in that point: And the principal articles being agreed upon, and to be confirm'd by the King's consent and the authority of Parliament, this appeared to them a sufficient basis for concluding peace with his Majesty*.

In the mean while the Nuncio assured the Earl of *Glamorgan*, that he had an equal zeal with his Lordship for the King's cause: That the Pope had sent him with subsidies into *Ireland*, not only for the service of that kingdom, but that when the people there were rescued from the yoke of
Herefy,

* Ibid. fol. 1006—1013.

Heresy, he might make use of them for the restoration of the *Church of England*, and of the *King's Crown*. That it was therefore the King's interest above all things, not to suffer himself, thro' a false zeal for a false religion, to be any longer deceiv'd by the artifices of *Heretics*, but to place his whole expectations of the safety of his crown, next to God, in the Pope, the *Union of the Catholics of Ireland and England*, and the *Catholics abroad*. That consequently it was of the utmost importance to his Majesty, to grant to the *Irish*, from whom he might expect the greatest help in this world, the concessions due to them; by which being secured in their own country, they would be fully enabled, as they were extremely willing, to fight for his Majesty adainst the *Rebels*. That therefore it was his Lordship's duty, to make such a use of the *King's Powers* intrusted with him, as would be for his Majesty's advantage, in the only way, which could be serviceable to the King and the Monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the *orthodox faith**.

It is highly probable from hence, that the

* *Ibid.* fol. 1020.

Nuncio's intentions were, to prevail upon the Earl of *Glamorgan* to proceed upon the plan of the *English Catholics* transmitted from *Rome* to the Nuncio, when at *Paris*, and inserted above*.

BUT

* “ Inter hæc *Glamorgano* ostendit Nuncius se perinde atque ipsum in Regis causam esse optime affectum. Summum Pontificem se ac suppetias in *Iberniam* transmisisse, non solum ut *Iberniam* proficeret, sed & *Iberniam* atque *Iberniam* ab hæresis jugo primum assertis, ad ecclesiam deinde *Anglicanam* & Regem in integrum restituendum velut medio ad finem uteretur. Ipsius ergo Regis ante omnia interesse, ut ne falso & falsæ religionis zelo se ulterius Hæreticorum fraudibus fascinandum permetteret, sed totam à summo Pontifice, & inter se unitis *Iberniam* atque *Angliæ* Catholicis, nec non exteris orthodoxis, monarchiæ salutem, secundum Deum expectaret. Itaque in rem regiam maximopere conducere, ut à quibus præcipuam in hoc mundo opem speraret, *Iberniam*, ex prudentia, nedum justitia, debitas concederet conditiones, quibus nec secus apud se tuti & securi, ardentissime vellent, & valentissime possent, regi suis stipendiis in rebelles militare. *Glamorgani* ergo esse sibi a Rege factâ potestate in ejusdem Regis utilitatem prudenter uti hoc modo, viâ, et ratione, quæ sola superesset idonea, non minus ad Monarcham & Monarchiam, quam ad fidem orthodoxam stabiliendam. Denique non est dubitandum, quin Nuncius *Glamorgano* uti voluerit, ut instructiones circa pacem ab *Iberniam* ineundam, & exercitum Catholicum ex *Iberniam* in *Angliam* transfundendum, ipsi sermone *Italico Romæ Parisios* transmissas, & a nobis superius *Latini* verfas, exequeretur. *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1020.

BUT the Nuncio despairing of bringing over the Supreme Council to his opinion, and imagining, as he wrote to Cardinal *Pamphilio* on the 23d of *December* 1645, that the peace had been actually concluded with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, before his own arrival at *Kilkenny*, by the management of the Marquis's friends in the Council, without the knowledge of the more zealous Catholics, who were averse to it, tho' it was not to be proclaim'd till a proper opportunity; thought it necessary to take some measures in defence of what he call'd *the cause of God and the Church*. Accordingly, on the 20th of *December*, he call'd together at his house all the Catholic Bishops then at *Kilkenny*; and having represented the whole affair to them, produc'd an instrument expressing his disapprobation of the peace; which was immediately sign'd by the Archbishops of *Dublin* and *Cashel*, and the Bishops of *Osory*, *Corke*, *Waterford*, *Clogher*, *Clonsfert*, and *Ferns*. But this instrument was to be kept secret, and not produc'd publicly, unless the peace should be *abruptly* or *pre-*

posterously concluded by the Council *. The same day he persuaded the Earl of *Glamorgan* to sign a writing, by way of supplement to the treaty made by him before; in which writing he engaged, "That
 " in case the ten thousand *Irish* were landed
 " in *England*, the articles till then being
 " kept secret, the King should oblige him-
 " self never to employ any but a Catholic
 " Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; to allow
 " the Catholic Bishops to sit in Parliament,
 " and universities to be erected under re-
 " gulations of their own; and that the
 " Supreme Council should be continued
 " in the exercise of their jurisdiction,
 " without any restriction from the present
 " Lord Lieutenant, till the private articles
 " should be ratified †." The Earl was so
 zealous for these articles, that he promised
 the Nuncio, that if he could not obtain
 them, he would abandon the whole ne-
 gotiation; for the expediting of which with
 the Lord Lieutenant he went to *Dublin*,
 accompanied with two members of the
 Supreme Council, who had been invited
 thither

* Ibid. fol. 1022—1026.

† Ibid. fol. 1024.

thither by the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, his Lordship having desir'd to know of them, in what forwardness the troops were, which they had promised the King *.

THE Earl arriv'd at *Dublin* late on *Christmas* eve, and the next day waited on the Lord Lieutenant, by whom he was receiv'd with great civility : And the Earl having inform'd him, that he had heard with great concern, that his Excellency was displeas'd, that he was design'd, contrary to his inclination, to command the ten thousand Catholics, to be sent by the Supreme Council to the assistance of the King ; the Lord Lieutenant replied, that these were reports without any foundation of truth ; and at the same time profess'd the highest regard for the Earl †. But the next day his Lordship met with a different kind of treatment, upon the following occasion.

THE treaty between the Earl and the *Irish* Catholics of the 25th of *August*, tho' design'd

* Ibid. fol. 1027.

† Ibid. fol. 1033.

design'd to be kept extremely private, was brought to light by an extraordinary accident. The Popish Archbishop of *Tuam*, President of *Connaught*, and one of the Supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, going into *Ulster* to visit his diocese, and put in execution an order for the arrears of his Bishopric granted to him by that Council, met with a body of *Irish* troops marching to besiege *Sligo*, and join'd with them. When they came near that town, the garrison made a sally on the 17th of *October*, charg'd the troops, that were come to besiege them, utterly routed them, and killed the Archbishop of *Tuam*; among whose baggage was found an authentic copy, attested and sign'd by several Bishops, of the treaty above mentioned, together with an order from the Supreme Council for the arrears of his Archbishopric, a bull of the Pope, and several letters between the Archbishop and his agents at *Rome*, *Paris*, and other places *. From those of the letters, which related to *Ireland*, it appear'd, " That the Pope would
" not

* *Husbands's Collection*, p. 787, &c. edit. *London*, 1646. fol. and *Rushworth*, part IV. vol. I. p. 239.

“ not ingage himself in sending a Nuncio
 “ to that kingdom, till the *Irish* agents
 “ had fully satisfied him, that the establish-
 “ ment of the *Roman* Catholic Religion
 “ was a thing feasible and attainable there ;
 “ Hereupon he was content to solicit their
 “ cause with *Florence* and *Venice*, &c.
 “ and also to delegate his Nuncio *Rinuc-*
 “ *cini* to attend that kingdom.” From
 others of the letters it was evident, that the
 King’s hopes were from the *Irish* nation;
 and that if they deserted him, he was like
 to be in a bad condition very soon. They
 mention’d likewise the treaty of peace; and
 one of them represented the Marquis of
Ormonde to have been a *Machiavelian*:
 Another declar’d, that *Dillon*, *Muskerry*,
 and *Talbot* were for peace, *conditionibus*
quibuscunque iniquis: A third said, “ Our
 “ public affairs are *in via, non in termino*:
 “ The propositions high, the answers high
 “ and sly. There are some mysteries of
 “ state in this business, which I cannot
 “ commit to paper: Yet morally certain
 “ it is, there will be a peace,” said a fourth
 letter *.

THE

* *Husbands's* Collection, p. 789, 790.

THE copy of the Earl of Glamorgan's treaty with the *Irish* was soon after transmitted by the *English* Commissioners in *Ulster* to the Parliament of *England*, who ordered it to be printed *.

OTHER copies of the treaty were likewise sent to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and Lord *Digby*, then at *Dublin*; who considering the odium it would draw upon the King, among the whole Protestant party, thought it necessary to do something for the vindication of his Majesty's honour by proceeding against the Earl of *Glamorgan*,

* Mr. *Carte*, vol. I. p. 553. reproaches the Parliament with having left out in their copy of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* oath, after the words, *till his Majesty's performance of the conditions stipulated for him*, the following ones, *or his pleasure known*. To shew the injustice of this charge, it is sufficient to transcribe out of his own third volume, p. 438. the following passage from a letter of the Marquis of *Ormonde* and the Council of *Ireland*, to Secretary *Nicholas*: "In the copy of the oath sent us by his Lordship [*Glamorgan*] these words, *viz. or his pleasure known*, are added in the conclusion; which words are not in the copy contained in the writing, on which we proceeded." Which copy of the Marquis and Council was taken from that found upon the Archbishop of *Tuam*, as well as that published by the Parliament; and the words, said by Mr. *Carte* to be omitted by the Parliament, were not in the Archbishop's copy, but only inserted by the Earl in the copy, which he sent to the Council, after he was in custody.

Glamorgan, who could not be supposed to have had authority from the King for what he had done. Accordingly, when the Council was assembled at *Dublin* on the 26th of *December*, 1645, the Lord *Digby* came to the board, and charging the Earl with suspicion of high treason, mov'd, that his person might be secured. This done, he presented a writing, containing copies of the articles of the treaty, of the Earl's oath to the Confederates, and of the authority from his Majesty of the 12th of *March*, 1644, to treat and conclude with the Confederates. The writing being read, the Lord *Digby* declared, " That
 " any such pretended authority from
 " his Majesty must be either forged, or
 " surreptitiously gained; or if possibly the
 " Earl had any colour of authority, that
 " it was certainly bound up and limited
 " by such instructions and declarations of
 " his Majesty's intentions therein, as would
 " in no wise license the said Earl to any
 " transaction of that nature; for most
 " confident he was, that the King, to re-
 " deem his crown, his own life, and the
 " lives of his Queen and children, would
 " not

“ not grant unto them [*the Irish*] the least
 “ piece of concessions so destructive both to
 “ his regality and religion.” The Lord Lieu-
 tenant and Council therefore gave a war-
 rant for the Earl’s commitment to the custody
 of the Constable of the castle of *Dublin*, in
 condition of a close prisoner, until further
 direction from them *: And being the
 next day examined before a Committee of
 the board, consisting of the Earl of *Roscom-
 mon*, the Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *James
 Ware*, his Lordship confess’d the whole
 transaction †, referring himself for the par-
 ticulars of the agreement to the counter-
 part of the articles, which was amongst
 such things, as he had lying at *Kilkenny*, or
 had sent to *Bonratty*, or perhaps among
 the papers, which he had brought to *Dub-
 lin*. He said, he consulted with no body
 in it, but the parties, with whom he made
 the

* Letter of the Marquis of *Ormonde* and Council
 of *Ireland* to Secretary *Nicholas*, 5th of *January*, 1645.
apud Carte, vol. III. p. 437.

† Mr. *Carte*, from whom alone we have any account
 of the proceedings against the Earl, has not given us a
 copy of his Lordship’s examination, as might have been
 expected upon a question of so great importance,
 upon which he has spent so many pages of his history.

the agreement ; *and what he did therein, was not, as he conceiv'd, obligatory to his Majesty.* This he said of his own voluntary motion, without any thing leading thereto in the interrogatory put to him : but two days after he desir'd, that to these words of his confession might be added the following, *And yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience.* He sent for the original counter-part of the articles, and the copy of his oath ; and delivering them to the Council on the 30th of *December*, he was freed from his close imprisonment, but continued prisoner in the castle, having the liberty of the house. He alledg'd afterwards to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, by way of apology for himself, that he had acted in this matter purely out of zeal for the King's service, to procure him the succours, which his Majesty so much wanted, that the least delay of them might be fatal ; and that he meant no harm to the Protestant Clergy, for whose immediate support he intended to gain two thirds of the ecclesiastical livings accruing that harvest, tho' that subsistence could not be got for them

them under any other terms, than for his
 Majesty's service *. To shew, that the
 King was not oblig'd by his agreement, he
 produc'd a *Defeazance*, sign'd by the same
 parties, the next day after the signing of
 the articles, in the presence of his brother
 the Lord *John Somerset*, Father *Oliver*
Darcy, and *Peter Bathe*, explaining
 the intent of those articles, and expressing,
 that the Earl " did no way intend thereby
 " to oblige his Majesty, other than he
 " himself should please, after he had re-
 " ceiv'd those 10,000 men, as a pledge
 " and testimony of the said *Roman Ca-*
 " *tholics* loyalty and fidelity to his Majesty:
 " Yet he promised faithfully, upon his
 " word and honour, *not to acquaint his*
 " *Majesty with this Defeazance*, till he
 " had endeavour'd, as far as in him lay, to
 " induce his Majesty to the granting of the
 " particulars in the said articles: but that
 " done, the said Commissioners discharged
 " the said Earl of *Glamorgan*, both in honour
 " and conscience, of any further engage-
 " ment to them therein, tho' his Majesty
 " should not be pleased to grant the said
 " particulars

* *Carte*, vol. I. p. 553.

“ particulars in the articles mentioned;
 “ the said Earl having given them as-
 “ surance upon his word, honour, and
 “ voluntary oath, that he would never,
 “ to any person whatsoever, discover this
 “ Defeazance in the interim, without their
 “ consent.”

ON the 5th of *January*, 1645-6, the
 Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*
 gave an account of this affair, in a letter to
 Secretary *Nicholas* *; in which they in-
 clos'd a copy of the Earl's examination be-
 fore the Committee of their board, and of
 the interrogatories framed by their appoint-
 ment, on which he was examined, and a
 copy also of the writing, whereupon they
 had proceeded against him; as likewise
 copies of the counterparts and oath de-
 livered in by his Lordship, with some re-
 marks upon them, in which they observe,
 “ that as the conditions of peace drawn
 “ from the Earl were accompanied with
 “ all the *inconveniences* and *mischiefs*
 “ formerly mention'd, to his *sacred Ma-*

H
jesty,

* *Carte*, vol. III. p. 436—439.

" *jeſty*, to his *royal poſterity*, to *this his*
 " *kingdom*, and to the *Proteſtant Religion*
 " *therein* ; ſo they were very confident
 " (and that upon grounds of moſt certain
 " *affurance*) that his *Majeſty* in his high
 " wiſdom would adjudge them to be ſuch,
 " and conſequently *inconfiſtent* with his
 " *honour* and *juſtice*, and with the *happineſs*
 " and *welfare* of *this his kingdom*
 " and people."

THE day before, *viz.* the 4th of *January*, the Lord *Digby* wrote likewise a letter to Secretary *Nicholas*, upon the ſame ſubject*, in which he remarked, that if the conditions of peace, granted by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, " were once publiſh'd, and that they could be believed " to be *done by his Majeſty's authority*, " they could have no leſs fatal an effect, " than to make all men, ſo believing, conclude all the *former ſcandals caſt upon his Majeſty*, of the *inciting this Irish rebellion*, true ; that he *was a Papiſt* ; " and *deſign'd to introduce Popery*, even " by ways the *moſt unkingly and perfidious* ;

* *Ruſhworth*, part IV. vol. I. p. 240, 241, 242.

" *dious* ; and consequently, that there
 " would be a general revolt from him of all
 " good Protestants, with whom this opinion
 " could take place. Now when we con-
 " sider'd the circumstances convincing the
 " truth of this transaction on my Lord of
 " *Glamorgan's* part ; and how *impossible*
 " almost it was for any man to be so *mad*,
 " as to enter into such an agreement, *with-*
 " *out powers from his Majesty* ; and there
 " being *some kind of a formal authority*
 " vouched in the *articles* themselves ; we
 " did also conclude, that probably the
 " greatest part of the world, who had no
 " other knowledge of his Majesty than
 " by *outward appearances*, would believe
 " this true, and do according to that
 " belief, unless his Majesty were suddenly
 " and eminently vindicated by those, who
 " might justly pretend to know him best.
 " Upon this ground it was also concluded
 " by us, that less than an arrest of the
 " Earl of *Glamorgan*, upon suspicion of
 " high treason, could not be a vindication
 " of his Majesty eminent or loud enough ;
 " and that this part could not properly nor
 " effectually be performed by any other
 H 2 " person

" person than myself, both in regard of
 " my place and trusts near his Majesty:
 " That the business of *Ireland* had passed
 " for the most part thro' my hands: That
 " I attended his Majesty about the time of
 " the date of his Majesty's pretended Com-
 " mission: That since that time, I had by
 " his Majesty's command written to the
 " *Irish* Commissioners a letter, whereof I
 " send you a copy, so diametrically op-
 " posite to the said Earl's transactions: And
 " lastly, in regard that my Lord Lieutenant,
 " to whom otherwise his Majesty's vindi-
 " cation in this kind might properly have
 " belonged, was generally thought to be
 " unworthily cozened and abused in the
 " matter, in case there were any such *se-*
 " *cret authority given by his Majesty to*
 " *the Earl of Glamorgan.* This being
 " our unanimous judgment of what was
 " fit to be done, and by whom; the only
 " question then remaining was to the
 " point of time, in which we were also
 " of opinion, that if it were deferr'd, till
 " the business, *growing public otherwise,*
 " should begin to work its *mischief,* his
 " Majesty's *vindication* would lose much
 " of

“ of its *force*, and be thought rather ap-
 “ plied to the *notoriety* than to the *impiety*
 “ of the thing, and rather to the *perni-*
 “ *cious effects*, than to the *detestable cause*
 “ *itself*. Notwithstanding I must confess
 “ to you, that the consideration of frus-
 “ trating the supplies of three thousand
 “ men, which were so confidently affirmed
 “ to be in readiness for the relief of *Chester*,
 “ in case the condition of that place could
 “ not bear the delay, which this might oc-
 “ casion, wrought in us a very great sus-
 “ pension of judgment, whether the pro-
 “ ceedings against my Lord of *Glamorgan*
 “ should not be forborn, till that so necessary
 “ a supply were sent away. But the case
 “ being more strictly examin’d, we found,
 “ first, that by the Earl of *Glamorgan’s*
 “ oath, the forces were not to be hazarded
 “ till his Majesty’s performance of the said
 “ Earl’s conditions. And, secondly, that
 “ the supply was never intended by my
 “ Lord of *Glamorgan* and the *Irish*, till
 “ the articles of peace were consented to;
 “ which the Lord Lieutenant durst in no
 “ wise do, without a preceding vindi-
 “ cation of the King’s honour, since this
 H 3 “ transaction

“ transaction of my Lord of *Glamorgan's*
 “ was known unto him, and known to be
 “ known unto him by those, who wanted
 “ neither art nor malice to make use of it,
 “ So that the necessary forbearance to con-
 “ clude the treaty, frustrating as much the
 “ relief of *Chester*, as the sudden and vi-
 “ gorous proceeding against my Lord of
 “ *Glamorgan* could do, our resolutions
 “ did in the end determine upon that
 “ course; when at the instant, to remove
 “ all objections, information was brought
 “ us, that the thing was already public
 “ throughout the town, and began to
 “ work such dangerous effects, as in truth
 “ I do not believe, that my Lord Lieute-
 “ nant, or any of the King's faithful ser-
 “ vants, could have been safe in the delay of
 “ this his Majesty's and their vindication,
 “ which has now been so seasonably ap-
 “ plied, as that it hath wrought here, not
 “ only a general satisfaction in all moderate
 “ men, but even such a conversion in many
 “ less well-inclin'd, that whereas before a
 “ peace with the *Irish*, even by those un-
 “ avoidable conditions, upon which my
 “ Lord

“ Lord Lieutenant must needs within a
 “ few days have concluded it, would hardly
 “ have been publish’d in this place without
 “ very much danger ; men’s minds are so
 “ secured and settled by this proceeding,
 “ as that I believe the peace now would be
 “ embraced upon these, and perhaps upon
 “ harder terms, without much mutiny or
 “ repining. This being so, our chief re-
 “ maining fear is, lest what hath been done
 “ against my Lord of *Glamorgan* should so
 “ far incense the *Irish*, as to drive them to
 “ sudden extremes, things here on his Ma-
 “ jesty’s part being in so ill a condition to
 “ enter again upon a war. Unto this danger
 “ the best preventives we could think of
 “ are applied : this inclosed letter written
 “ to my Lord of *Muskerry* by my Lord
 “ Lieutenant ; apt persons employed to
 “ *Kilkenny*, to acquaint them with the
 “ reasons and necessities of this proceeding ;
 “ and, lastly, the articles of peace sent
 “ unto them, with my Lord Lieutenant’s
 “ assent, in the very terms proposed and
 “ acquiesced in by them themselves in the
 “ last results of this long treaty. Which,

“ in all probability, will have one of these
 “ two effects, either to make them con-
 “ clude a peace, notwithstanding this in-
 “ tervening accident, whereby *Chester* will
 “ be speedily relieved, and his Majesty fur-
 “ ther supplied this spring ; or make it
 “ break so foully on their side, as to divide
 “ from them the most considerable of their
 “ party. Whatever the event be, my Lord
 “ Lieutenant and I shall comfort ourselves
 “ with this satisfaction, that we have done
 “ what belonged to men of honour, faith-
 “ ful to their King and their Religion,
 “ and as wisely as ours and our best friends
 “ understandings could direct us ; leaving
 “ the rest to God Almighty, whom we
 “ beseech to direct his Majesty to that
 “ course herein on our part, which may
 “ be correspondent to our faithful endea-
 “ vours ; and that he will bless them with
 “ as good effects upon the minds of all
 “ honest men, towards his Majesty’s vin-
 “ dication in that kingdom, as I make no
 “ doubt, but what we have done will have
 “ in this, when seconded and pursued by
 “ those further directions from his Majesty,
 “ which I am sure his own wisdom, and a
 “ princely

“ princely indignation to find his *honour*,
“ *conscience*, and *piety thus infamously*
“ *traduced*, will dictate unto him, with-
“ out further advice from

“ *Yours*

“ George Digby.

“ *Dublin, January 4th, 1645.*

“ I BELIEVE you will be as much startled
“ as I was, to find the *signet* mentioned in
“ my Lord of *Glamorgan's* transactions.
“ But it seems that was mistaken, and that
“ he now pretends to some kind of autho-
“ rity under the King's *pocket signet*,
“ which I certainly believe to be as false,
“ as I know the other.”

THE zeal, which the Lord *Digby* ex-
press'd against the Earl of *Glamorgan's* pro-
ceedings, does him great honour, but is
ascrib'd by *Vittorio Siri* * to a less repu-
table motive, than his concern for the Pro-
testant Religion; *viz.* a design to supplant
the Earl in the command of the *Irish* troops,
and to procure it for himself. And, in
fact, such a concern does not appear to be
the

* Vol, VIII. p. 50. and *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1036.

the governing principle of that great, but inconstant and capricious Nobleman's conduct: for tho' he had distinguished himself in 1638 and 1639, as a very able advocate for Protestantism, in a controversy by letters with his cousin Sir *Kenelm Digby*; yet after the King's death he reconciled himself to the Church of *Rome*, upon entering into the service of *France*, and died in the profession of its faith.

THERE was one paper, which the Earl of *Glamorgan* had sent for to *Kilkenny*, about which the *Irish* Commissioners were very uneasy; and upon his return thither question'd him, whether he had shewn it to the Lord Lieutenant. If he had, it would have made a great distraction in their proceedings afterwards. But he protesting, that he had not, they were satisfied with that assurance; which, he told the Lord Lieutenant in a letter of the 31st of *January* 1645-6, "made him sensible of his Excellency's great prudence, in not urging him there- to; for otherwise he could not have denied it with truth *.

ON

* *Carte*, vol. I. p. 554.

ON the 6th of *January*, the Earl being urged in private by the Lord Lieutenant, whom he visited, to produce the Commission of the 12th of *March* 1644, wav'd that, having, as *Vittorio Siri* observes *, and as the Supreme Council affirm in their paper to the Nuncio in *July* 1646 †, left the original as a pledge in the hands of the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*; the King's warrant to him of the 12th of *January*, 1644, empowering him to *deposit any of his Majesty's warrants*. However he produc'd this last warrant § to the Lord Lieutenant,

* Vol. VIII. p. 31.

† Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 1292. *Articulos cum Glamorganizæ Comite transactos, qui à suâ Majestate mandatum habuit, cujus originale, Regiâ manu subscriptum, Glamorganizæ Comes deposuit apud Consecratos Catholicos.*

§ Mr. *Carte* has evidently confounded the two warrants of *January* 12th and *March* 12th, the latter of which was sent over with the letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*, on the 5th of *January*; whereas the former was not produc'd by the Earl till the 6th of *January*, and a copy of it sent to the Lord Lieutenant the day following. Mr. *Carte* says, vol. I. p. 554, that the Lord Lieutenant sent that copy of the warrant of the 12th of *January* to the King; and that his Majesty remembred nothing of a warrant, which, if he had ever signed it, was too remarkable

tenant, who desir'd a copy of it, which the Earl sent him the next day, written with his own hand, and attested with his name, protesting, " that he had done so, in confidence, that his Excellency would be " satisfied therewith, and make no other use " of it, but for his private satisfaction and " future warrant to his Majesty, if need required; but otherwise not shew it to " any, as he tendered the King's service, " and the good of one so much devoted to " him as himself; professing the utmost " zeal

markable to be forgot. But his Majesty's letter of the 31st of *January*, 1645-6, which Mr. Carte applies to this warrant, relates to that of *March* 12th, as likewise the letters of Secretary *Nicholas*, of the same date, to the Council of *Ireland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant; in the latter of which his citing these words [*as firmly as under the great seal to all intents and purposes*] which are in the warrant of *March* 12th, and not in that of *January* 12th, plainly shews, that he speaks only of the former, and not of the latter. And tho' Mr. Carte tells us, p. 554, that the Lord Lieutenant sent a copy of the latter to his Majesty, he does not inform us, what answer his Majesty gave concerning it, and merely supposes p. 556, that this warrant of *January* 12th was a fiction of the Earl's in conjunction with his Confessor; tho' he owns, p. 554, that his Lordship produc'd it to the Lord Lieutenant on the 6th of *January*, 1645-6, and the next day sent him a copy of it wrote in his own hand, and attested also in form with his name.

“ zeal for the King’s service, and that he
“ regarded no danger of life and fortunes
“ in order to that end, for the accom-
“ plishment whereof he only desired his
“ liberty.” But the Lord Lieutenant, tho’
thus conjur’d to secrecy, thought it his
duty to send a copy of this warrant to
his Majesty *.

WHILE the Earl lay under confinement,
he wrote the following letter to his
Lady †.

“ *My dearest Heart,*

“ **I** Hope these will prevent any news
“ shall come to you of me, since my
“ commitment to the castle of *Dublin*,
“ to which, I assure thee, I went as cheer-
“ fully and as willingly, as they could wish,
“ whosoever they were, by whose means
“ it was procured, and should as un-
“ willingly go forth, were the gates both
“ of the castle and town open unto
“ me, until I were *cleared*, as they are
“ willing to make me *unserviceable to the*
“ *King,*

* *Carte*, vol. I. p. 554.

† *Husbands’s Collection*, p. 827. and *Rushworth*,
Part IV. Vol. I. p. 246.

“ *King*, and lay me aside, who have pro-
 “ cured for me this restraint. When I con-
 “ sider thee a woman, as I think I know
 “ you are, I fear lest you should be ap-
 “ prehensive: But when I reflect, that you
 “ are of the house of *Thomond*, and that
 “ you were once pleased to say these words
 “ unto me, *that I should never, in tender-*
 “ *ness of you, desist from doing what in*
 “ *honour I was obliged to do*, I grow con-
 “ fident, that in this you will now shew
 “ your magnanimity, and by it the greatest
 “ testimony of affection, that you can
 “ possibly afford; and am also confident,
 “ that you know me so well, that I need
 “ not tell you, how *clear* I am, and *void*
 “ *of fear*, the only effect of a good con-
 “ science; and that I am *guilty of no-*
 “ *thing*, that may testify one thought of
 “ *disloyalty to his Majesty*, or of what may
 “ *stain the honour* of the family I come of,
 “ or set a brand upon my future posterity.
 “ Courage, my heart! Were I among
 “ the King’s enemies, you might fear:
 “ but being only a prisoner amongst his
 “ friends and faithful subjects, you need
 “ doubt nothing, but that this cloud will
 “ be

“ be soon dissipated by the *sun-shine* of
 “ *the King my master*. And did you
 “ but know, how well and merry I am,
 “ you would be as little troubled as my-
 “ self, who have nothing, that can af-
 “ flict me, but lest your apprehension
 “ might hurt you; especially since all the
 “ while I could get no opportunity of
 “ sending, nor yet by any certain probable
 “ means, but by my Cousin *Brereton*, Mr.
 “ *Mannering's*, our Cousin, Constable of
 “ the castle, and my Lord Lieutenant's
 “ leave; and I hope you and I shall live to
 “ acknowledge our obligation to them,
 “ there being nothing in this world, that
 “ I desire more than you should at least
 “ hear from me. And believe it, Sweet-
 “ heart, were I before the Parliament in
 “ *London*, I could *justify* both *the King*
 “ and *myself* in what I have done; and so
 “ I pray acquaint my father, who, I know,
 “ is so cautious, that he would hardly ac-
 “ cept a letter from me, but yet I presume
 “ most humbly to ask his blessing, and as
 “ heartily as I send mine to pretty *Mall*,
 “ and I hope this day or to-morrow will
 “ set

“ set a period to my business, *to the shame*
 “ *of those, who have been the occasion*
 “ *of it.* But I must needs say, from my
 “ Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy Council
 “ here, I have received as much justice,
 “ nobleness, and favour, as I could possibly
 “ expect. The circumstances of these pro-
 “ ceedings are too long to write unto you;
 “ but I am confident *all will prove to my*
 “ *greater honour,* and my Right Honour-
 “ able accuser, my Lord Digby, will be
 “ at last *rectified,* and *confirmed in the*
 “ *good opinion,* which he is pleased to say
 “ he ever had of me hitherto; as the
 “ greatest affliction, that he ever had, was
 “ to do what his conscience enforced him
 “ to; and indeed did wrap up the bitter
 “ pill of the impeachment of suspicion of
 “ high treason in so good words, that I
 “ swallowed it with the greatest ease in
 “ the world; and it hath hitherto had no
 “ other operation, than that it hath
 “ purged melancholy. For as I was not
 “ at the present *any way dismayed,* so
 “ have I not since been *any way at all dis-*
 “ *heartened.* So I pray let not any of my
 “ friends,

" friends, that's there, believe any thing
" until ye have the perfect relation of it
" from my self. And this request I chiefly
" make unto you, to whom I remain a

" *Most faithful, and*

" *Most passionately devoted*

" *Husband and Servant,*

" Glamorgan;

" REMEMBER my service to my brother,
" and Cousin *Barry*, and the rest of my
" good friends."

Mr. *Brereton*, at the same time, wrote a letter to the Countess of *Glamorgan*, and another to Colonel *Pigot* *, both dated at *Dublin*, January 5th, 1645-6. The former was in these terms :

" Madam,

" I Presume, that some rumours of my
" Lord of *Glamorgan's* being confined
" to the Castle of *Dublin*, for some matters
" laid to his charge by the Lord *George*
" *Digby*, have before this time come to
" your

* *Husbands's* Collection, p. 826, 827.

“ your Ladyship’s hearing. I thought fit
 “ therefore by these few lines to let you
 “ know, that my Lord is in perfect health,
 “ hearty, and *cheerful, not doubting to*
 “ *give a satisfactory answer to what may*
 “ *be laid to his charge.* I have so much
 “ confidence in your Ladyship’s accustomed
 “ discretion, that I know there needs no
 “ dissuasive arguments to your Ladyship
 “ from either grieving, or taking any re-
 “ ports you may receive to heart too much,
 “ not doubting but *his Lordship will e’er*
 “ *long see your Ladyship,* when you may
 “ partake of all things more fully than may
 “ be by writing.”

THE letter to Colonel *Pigot* was as follows:

“ Worthy Cousin,
 “ I Have here inclosed sent two letters to
 “ the Countess of *Glamorgan* at *Rag-*
 “ *land,* her Lord being lately confined
 “ here to the Castle of *Dublin*; and lest
 “ her Ladyship may take things too much
 “ to heart, these letters are sent to add
 “ some comfort. Both my Lord and I
 “ shall

“ shall acknowledge our thankfulness unto
 “ you, if you be pleased to use the best and
 “ speediest course you may, for conveying
 “ them to my Lady.”

THESE letters, with others of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, particularly one to the King dated the 23d of *February* 1645-6, which will be inserted hereafter, and the Lord *Digby's* narrative of his proceedings against the Earl, were discovered by the following accident*. A ship came into *Padstow* in *Cornwall* from *Ireland*; not doubting but to have been well received; whereas, on the contrary, the people of the town endeavoured to seize, and with the help of some of the Parliament dragoons boarded her, and put most of the men to the sword. But the Captain, one *Allen of Waterford*, had his life spared, to the intent to make use of his confession. The packet of letters he brought was thrown overboard, but found floating on the water, and carried to General *Fairfax*. These letters, which were soon after printed under the title of,

* *Husbands's* Collection, p. 812, & seqq. and *Rushworth*, Part IV. Vol. I. p. 104.

The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations and colourable Commitment in Ireland demonstrated: or, The Irish Plot for bringing 10000 men and arms into England, where three hundred to be for Prince Charles's lifeguard, discovered in several letters, &c. being shewn and read to the people of the country, who were summoned to appear on the Downs by *Bodmyn*, made great impression on them; so that above a thousand of them expressed much willingness to assist in the blocking up of all the passages and ways, to prevent the royal cavalry from breaking through. *Mr. Rushworth*, in a letter to the Speaker *Lenthall* from *Bodmyn*, *March 6, 1645-6**, observes, that this accident of seizing these letters “ was a very seasonable and “ remarkable one, as could have happened, “ for the uniting of *Cornwall* to the Par- “ liament; for the very thought of *Irish* “ and *French* are hateful unto them. Those “ letters that were most considerable, mis- “ carried in the water, which was the “ *Earl of Glamorgan's* to the Prince, Sir “ *Edward Hyde*, and another; which “ *Captain Allen*, an *Irish* Papist, and Mer- “ chant

* *Husbands's Collection*, p: 812.

“chant of *Waterford*, confesseth he had
 “from the hands of the Earl of *Glamorgan*,
 “to deliver as aforesaid.” General *Fairfax*
 likewise, in a letter to the Speaker from
Bodmyn, March 7th, 1645-6 *, says thus:
 “You will perceive by the date of the Earl
 “of *Glamorgan*’s letters, that he hath the
 “honour, trust, and liberty of a very good
 “and *loyal subject*.” By which he evi-
 dently means, that the Earl was still on good
 terms of confidence with the King, not-
 withstanding that his Majesty pretended to
 disavow his proceedings in the treaty with
 the *Irish*. For the Parliament having, in
 their answer of the 13th of *January* 1645-6,
 to the King’s message of the 29th of *De-*
cember 1645. complained †, “That there
 “had been *Irish Rebels* brought over into
 “both kingdoms [*England* and *Scotland*]
 “and endeavours to bring over more into
 “both of them; as also forces from fo-
 “reign parts:” in answer to this, the King,
 in his message of the 29th of *January*
 1645-6, made the following declaration ‡.

* Ibid. p. 811.

† *Rushworth*, Part IV. Vol. I. p. 219.

‡ Ibid. p. 222.

" His Majesty having received informa-
 " tion from the Lord Lieutenant and
 " Council of *Ireland*, that the Earl of
 " *Glamorgan* hath, without his directions
 " or privity, entered into a treaty with
 " some Commissioners on the *Roman Ca-*
 " tholic party there; and also drawn up
 " and agreed unto certain articles with the
 " said Commissioners, highly derogatory to
 " his Majesty's honour and royal dignity,
 " *and most prejudicial unto the Protestant*
 " *religion and church there in Ireland;*
 " whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan*
 " is arrested upon suspicion of High Trea-
 " son, and imprisoned by the said Lord
 " Lieutenant and Council, at the instance
 " and by the impeachment of the Lord
 " *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and
 " former employment in these affairs) doth
 " best know, how contrary that proceeding
 " of the said Earl hath been to his Majesty's
 " intentions and directions, and what great
 " prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if
 " those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamor-*
 " *gan* should be any ways understood to
 " have been done by the directions, liking,
 " or

“ or approbation of his Majesty: his Ma-
 “ jesty having in his former messages for a
 “ personal treaty offered to give content-
 “ ment to his two houses in the business
 “ of *Ireland*, hath now thought fitting,
 “ the better to shew his clear intentions,
 “ and to give satisfaction to his said houses
 “ of Parliament, and the rest of his subjects
 “ in all his kingdoms, to send this decla-
 “ ration to his said houses, containing the
 “ whole truth of the business; which is,
 “ That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made
 “ offer unto him, to *raise forces in the*
 “ *kingdom of Ireland*, and to *conduct them*
 “ *into England for his Majesty's service,*
 “ *had a commission to that purpose, and*
 “ *to that purpose only:* That he had no
 “ commission at all to treat of any thing
 “ else, without the privity and directions
 “ of the Lord Lieutenant, much less to ca-
 “ pitulate any thing concerning religion,
 “ or any propriety belonging either to
 “ church or laity. That it clearly appears
 “ by the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings
 “ with the said Earl, that he had no notice
 “ at all of what the said Earl had treated and
 “ pretended to have capitulated with the

“ *Irish*, until by accident it came to his
 “ knowledge. And his Majesty doth pro-
 “ test, that until such time, as he had adver-
 “ tisement, that the person of the said Earl
 “ of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrain-
 “ ed, as is above said, he never heard or
 “ had any notice, that the said Earl had
 “ entered into any kind of treaty or capi-
 “ tulation with those *Irish* commissioners,
 “ much less that he concluded or signed
 “ those articles, so destructive both to
 “ church and state, and so repugnant to his
 “ Majesty’s public professions and known
 “ resolutions. And for the further vindi-
 “ cation of his Majesty’s honour and inte-
 “ grity herein, he doth declare, that he is
 “ so far from considering any thing con-
 “ tained in those papers and writings,
 “ framed by the said Earl, and those com-
 “ missioners, with whom he treated, as he
 “ doth absolutely disavow him therein, and
 “ hath given commandment to the Lord
 “ Lieutenant and the Council there, to
 “ proceed against the said Earl, as one,
 “ who, either out of falseness, presumption,
 “ or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing
 “ of his Majesty’s reputation with his good
 “ subjects,

“ subjects, and so impertinently framed
 “ those articles of his own head, without
 “ the consent, privy, or directions of his
 “ Majesty, or the said Lord Lieutenant, or
 “ any of his Majesty’s council there. But
 “ true it is, that for the necessary preserva-
 “ tion of his Majesty’s Protestant subjects in
 “ *Ireland*, whose case was daily represented
 “ unto him to be so desperate, he had given
 “ leave to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and
 “ conclude such a peace there, as might be
 “ for the safety of that crown, the preserva-
 “ tion of the Protestant religion, and no
 “ way derogatory to his own honour and
 “ public professions.”

Vittorio Siri observes *, “ that the King
 “ thundered against the Earl in this Decla-
 “ ration *only in appearance*, that he might
 “ be thought not to have been privy to the
 “ concessions made by the Earl in his name
 “ to the *Irish Catholics*.”

AND this was evidently the opinion of
 Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, in a letter of the 9th
 of *March* 1645-6 to the Lord *Hopton*, one
 of the King’s generals, then shut up in

Truro

* *Fulminando contro di lui in sola apparenza il Re,*
per dare ad intendere, che fosse nescio delle concessioni da
lui fatte per suo nome à Cattolici d’ Ibernia. Vol. 8. p. 51.

Truro in *Cornwall*, in which he wrote as follows * : “ I believe, that as the Parliament may be discouraged from the way of treaty by former experiences of the fruitlessness thereof, and the ill use the same hath been *designed* or *driven* unto, viz. *only to gain advantages for war*, without real intentions for peace ; so the late overtures that way are the less like to be successful, by reason of the clear and certain discoveries the Parliament have had, that his Majesty, at the same time, was and is labouring by agents in all parts *to draw in foreign forces*, and especially that the Earl of *Glamorgan*, by commission from his Majesty, had concluded a peace with the *Irish* rebels on terms extremely dishonourable and prejudicial, upon the only condition of sending over force under the command of that Lord, to invade *England*, whereof I presume you cannot but have heard. And tho’ his Majesty did, in a letter to the Parliament, *disavow* any such agreement, and *pretended* he had given order to the Lord *Digby* for the
“ attainting

* *Rushworth*, Part IV. Vol. I. p. 107.

"attainting and impeaching the Earl of
 "Glamorgan of High Treason for what he
 "had done therein; yet by *late discove-*
 "ries to the *Parliament*, and especially
 "by letters intercepted the other day at
 "Padstow from the Lord Digby, the Earl
 "of Glamorgan, and others, to Secretary
 "Nicholas, yourself, Sir Edward Hyde,
 "the Lord Colepepper, and others, it is
 "most clear and evident, that the *arrest-*
 "ing of the Earl of Glamorgan was *only*
 "for a present colour to *salve reputation*
 "with the people, and continue their *de-*
 "lusion, till designs were ripe for execu-
 "tion: for the same peace is fully con-
 "cluded with the rebels, the King to have
 "the aid conditioned upon the same agree-
 "ment, and the Earl of Glamorgan at li-
 "berty again, and to command that
 "force."

THE next day after the King's Declaration
 to the Parliament against that Earl, *viz.*
January the 30, 1645-6, his Majesty
 wrote the following private letter to the
 Marquis of Ormonde*:

"Ormonde,

* Carte, Vol. II. Append. N°. XXIII. p. 12.

“ *Ormonde,*

“ I Cannot but add to my long letter, that,
 “ upon the word of a Christian, I never
 “ intended *Glamorgan* should treat any
 “ thing without your approbation, much
 “ less without your knowledge. For be-
 “ sides the injury to you, I was always dis-
 “ fident of his judgment (tho’ I could not
 “ think him so extremely weak) as now to
 “ my cost I have found, which you may
 “ easily perceive by the postscript in a let-
 “ ter of mine to you, that he should have
 “ delivered you at his last coming into *Ire-*
 “ *land*, which if you have not had, the rea-
 “ son of it will be worth the knowing;
 “ for which I have commanded *Digby’s*
 “ service, desiring you to assist him. And
 “ albeit I have too just cause, for the *clear-*
 “ *ing of my honour*, to command (as I have
 “ done) to prosecute *Glamorgan* in a legal
 “ way; yet I will have you *suspend* the ex-
 “ ecution of any sentence against him, un-
 “ til you inform me fully of all the pro-
 “ ceedings. For I believe it was his mis-
 “ guided zeal more than any malice, which
 “ brought this great misfortune on him
 “ and

“ and on us all. For your part, you have
“ in this, as in all other actions, given me
“ such satisfaction, that I mean otherwise,
“ more than by words, to express my estimation of you. So I rest

*Your most assured,
constant, real Friend,*

Charles R.

“ Jan. 30, 1645.”

THE day following he wrote likewise another letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland* *.

“ Charles R.

“ **R**ight trusty and intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, and right trusty
“ and well-beloved Counsellors, we greet
“ you well. We have seen and considered
“ the dispatch directed from you and our
“ Council there to our right trusty and
“ well-beloved Counsellor Sir *Edward*
“ *Nicholas*, one of our principal Secretaries of State, concerning the Earl of
“ *Glamorgan*’s accusation, and your proceedings thereupon. And as we could
“ not

* Ibid. Vol. III. N^o. 425. p. 445.

“ not but receive the one with extraordi-
 “ nary amazement, that any man’s folly
 “ and presumption should carry him to
 “ such a degree of abusing *our trust, how*
 “ *little soever* ; so we could not but be
 “ very sensible of the great affection and
 “ zeal to our service, which you have ex-
 “ pressed in putting our honour (so highly
 “ traduced) into so speedy and effectual a
 “ way of vindication, by the proceeding
 “ against the said Earl. And altho’ we are
 “ so well assured of you and the rest of our
 “ Council’s intire confidence in the justice
 “ and piety of our resolution in what con-
 “ cerns the maintenance of the true Pro-
 “ testant religion, and particularly of the
 “ church and revenues thereto belonging,
 “ and our constant care of our good sub-
 “ jects of the same in that our kingdom, as
 “ we do not think it needful to say any
 “ more unto you upon that subject, than
 “ what hath been sufficiently declared by
 “ the practice and professions of our whole
 “ life : yet to the end, that your zeal may
 “ be the better instructed in that particular,
 “ whereby to satisfy such of our good sub-
 “ jects, as might be apt to be misled by the
 “ subtilty

“ subtilty and malice of our enemies, we
 “ have thought fit to let you know the
 “ *whole truth* of what hath passed from us
 “ unto the Earl of *Glamorgan*, whereby
 “ he might in any wise pretend to the least
 “ kind of trust or authority from us, in
 “ what concerned the treaty of that king-
 “ dom. The truth is, that the pressing
 “ condition of our affairs obliging us to
 “ procure a peace in that kingdom, if it
 “ might be had upon any terms safe to our
 “ honour and conscience, and to our Pro-
 “ testant subjects there; and finding also,
 “ that the said peace could not be gained,
 “ but by *some indulgence to the Roman*
 “ *Catholics*, in point of *freeing them from*
 “ *the penalties imposed upon the exercise*
 “ *of their religion*, as though justly and
 “ duly we might grant, yet haply in a *pub-*
 “ *lic transaction* could not be without
 “ some scandal to such our good subjects,
 “ as might be yet to be wrought upon by
 “ their arts, who did continually watch all
 “ advantages to blast the integrity of our
 “ actions; we thought fit, *over and above*
 “ *our public power and directions to you,*
 “ *our Lieutenant*, to give you private
 “ *instructions*

“ *instructions and power, to assure the*
 “ *said Roman Catholics in a less public*
 “ *way, of the said exemptions from the*
 “ *penalties of the law, and of some*
 “ *such other graces, as might, without*
 “ *blemish to our honour and conscience,*
 “ *or prejudice to our Protestant sub-*
 “ *jects, be afforded them. With the*
 “ *knowledge of these secret instructions to*
 “ *you, we thought fit to acquaint the Earl*
 “ *of Glamorgan at his going to Ireland,*
 “ *being confident of his hearty affections*
 “ *to our service : and withal knowing his*
 “ *interest with the Roman Catholic party*
 “ *to be very considerable, we thought it*
 “ *not unlikely, that you might make good*
 “ *use of him, by employing that interest in*
 “ *persuading them to a moderation, and*
 “ *to rest satisfied, upon his engagement*
 “ *also, with those above mentioned con-*
 “ *cessions, of which, in the condition of*
 “ *our affairs, you could give them no*
 “ *other than a private assurance. To this*
 “ *end (and with the strictest limitations,*
 “ *that we could injoin him, merely to those*
 “ *particulars, concerning which we had*
 “ *given you secret instructions, as also even*
 “ *in*

“ in that to do nothing but by your espe-
 “ cial directions) *it is possible* we might have
 “ thought fit to have given unto the said
 “ Earl of Glamorgan *such a credential*, as
 “ might give him credit with the Roman
 “ Catholics, in case you should find occa-
 “ sion to make use of him, either as a far-
 “ ther assurance unto them of what you
 “ should *privately* promise, or in case you
 “ should judge it necessary to manage
 “ those matters, for their greater confi-
 “ dence, apart by him, of whom, in regard
 “ of his religion and interest, they might
 “ be the less jealous. This is *all*, and *the*
 “ *very bottom* of what we might have *pos-*
 “ *sibly* intrusted unto the said Earl of Gla-
 “ *morgan* in this affair; which, as things then
 “ stood, might have been very useful to our
 “ service in accelerating the peace, and
 “ whereof there was so much need, as well
 “ for the preservation of our Protestant sub-
 “ jects there, as *for hastening those necessary*
 “ *aids*, which we were to expect from
 “ thence, had we had the luck to employ
 “ a *wiser man*. But the truth is, being
 “ very confident of his *affections and obe-*
 “ *dience*, we had not much regard to his
 K abilities,

“ abilities, since he was *bound up by our*
“ *positive commands from* doing any thing,
“ but what you should particularly and
“ precisely direct him to, both in the mat-
“ ter and manner of his negotiation.

“ WHEREFORE our pleasure is, that the
“ charge begun by our Secretary, accord-
“ ing to his duty, be thoroughly and dili-
“ gently prosecuted against the said Earl.
“ And so no way doubting of your and our
“ Council's further care there correspon-
“ dent to your beginning, in a matter so
“ highly concerning us, we bid you heartily
“ farewell.

“ GIVEN at our Court at *Oxford*, this
“ 31st day of *January*, in the twenty
“ first year of our reign, 1645.

“ *By his Majesty's command,*

“ Edward Nicholas.”

THE same day Secretary *Nicholas* wrote
the following letter, to the Lord Lieu-
tenant and Council of *Ireland* *.

“ *My*

* *Carte*, Vol. III. N°. 426. p. 446.

" *My Lords,*

" **H**IS Majesty having, with the Lords
 " of the Privy Council here, heard
 " and duly weighed your Lordships to me
 " of the 5th present, concerning your
 " prudent and grave proceedings, in the
 " business of the Lord *Edward Herbert*
 " of *Ragland*, so highly importing his
 " Majesty, hath commanded me to send
 " your Lordships his royal thanks, as
 " well for your affectionaté expressions
 " of your tenderness of his honour, as
 " your just resentment, how scandalous
 " and disadvantageous such the said Lord
 " *Herbert's* proceedings might have been
 " to his Majesty's affairs and service here,
 " and on that side, if the wise course your
 " Lordships have taken to vindicate his
 " Majesty, had been deferred. Your Lord-
 " ships will, by the King's own letter here-
 " with sent, receive the particulars of all,
 " that his Majesty can call to mind or
 " imagine he may have done or said to
 " the Lord *Herbert* in that business. And
 " since the *warrant*, whereby his Lord-
 " ship pretends to be *authorized* to treat

" with the *Roman Catholics* there, is
 " not sealed with the *signet*, as it men-
 " tions, nor *attested* by *either* of his Ma-
 " jesty's *Secretaries*, as it ought, nor
 " *written in the style*, that warrants of
 " that nature use to be; neither refers
 " to any instructions at all; your Lord-
 " ships cannot but judge it to be, at least,
 " *surreptitiously gotten, if not worse*; for
 " his Majesty saith, *he remembers it not*.
 " And as the warrant is *a very strange one*,
 " so hath been also the execution of it.
 " For it is manifest, the Lord *Herbert* did
 " not acquaint the Lord Lieutenant with
 " any part of it, before he concluded with
 " the said *Roman Catholics*, nor ever ad-
 " vertised his Majesty, the Lord Lieute-
 " nant, or any of his Council here or
 " there, what he had done in an affair of
 " so great moment and consequence four
 " months before, till it was discovered
 " by accident. This doth not sound like
 " good meaning; and I am sure is not
 " fair dealing. But his Majesty having, by
 " his letter to your Lordship, left the
 " charge against the Lord *Herbert*, to be
 " prosecuted

“ prosecuted by your Lordships, I shall say
 “ no more of that unhappy subject.”

THE same day the Secretary wrote another letter to the Lord Lieutenant, wherein he said *;

“ WE are all here much amazed at the
 “ news of the Lord *Herbert*’s imprudent
 “ action (to say no more of it) which hath
 “ most extremely prejudiced his Majesty and
 “ his affairs here. Your Excellence, and
 “ the Council there, will herewith receive a full and particular relation from
 “ his Majesty, of all that he can call to
 “ mind concerning that business, wherein
 “ as the Lord *Herbert* hath dealt very
 “ unworthily with his Majesty, so it is believed, that even the *Roman* Catholics
 “ themselves will condemn him for his
 “ imprudent proceeding therein. For if
 “ his pretended warrant had been authentic, yet to do any thing thereupon without your Excellency’s privity, was a
 “ madness, rather than a folly; and the
 “ concealing so long what he had done

K 3

“ argues

* Ibid. p. 447.

" argues something worse. The King
 " hath commanded me to advertise your
 " Lordship, that the patent for making the
 " said Lord *Herbert of Ragland* Earl of
 " *Glamorgan* is not passed the great seal
 " here, so as he is no Peer of this king-
 " dom; notwithstanding he styles himself,
 " and hath treated with the Rebels in *Ire-*
 " *land*, by the name of Earl of *Gla-*
 " *morgan*, which is as vainly taken upon
 " him, as his pretended warrant (*if any*
 " *such be*) was *surreptitiously gotten*.
 " And I am sure, that honour cannot be
 " conferr'd upon him under the signet
 " (*as firmly as under the great seal, to*
 " *all intents and purposes*) as his Lord-
 " ship's pretended warrant and power is
 " alledged to be, tho' there be no signet
 " to it."

BUT before this the Earl of *Glamorgan*
 was set at liberty; for the news of his
 imprisonment being brought to *Kilkenny*,
 where the Supreme Council of the Con-
 federate Catholics resided, put every body
 there into a prodigious consternation, some
 insisting

insisting upon the taking of arms, and marching immediately to *Dublin*, and laying siege to it, in order to procure the Earl's liberty. But the Lord Lieutenant's party in the Supreme Council moderated these violent measures; tho' they were obliged to consent to an absolute resolution of calling a general assembly; and a conditional one of proceeding to an open war, if they could find means of supporting it: for which purpose five members of the Council went to the Nuncio on the morning of the 31st of *December*, to desire to know of him, what sum of money they could depend upon of the subsidies, which he had brought them. The Nuncio wrote an account of this to Cardinal *Pamphilio* in a letter of the 1st of *January*, 1645-6, in which he observed, that there was now a proper opportunity for seizing of *Dublin*, which he had insinuated with all the dexterity he was master of, to those, whom he thought *well affected*, but was oblig'd to proceed in this affair with the utmost caution, on account of many, who were of an opposite party to him; and the jealousy, which they had conceiv'd of the

clergy, who were govern'd by the Nuncio. He took notice in the same letter, that the Supreme Council saw plainly now, that being deprived of the interposition of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, they could expect of the Marquis of *Ormonde* none but an ignominious peace, since he would never grant any other terms, than a coalition of their forces, and the *private* exercise of their religion; and thus their five years labours would vanish in smoke. But with respect to the purchasing a peace by war, there occur'd these two obstacles; the difficulty of supporting themselves, and the danger of exposing themselves to the resentment of the Parliament, if the King should be subdued, or agree to an accommodation. "I shall endeavour, *continues the Nuncio*, to encourage and keep up their spirits in both cases, to prevent any loss of time, which is the point aimed at by all those of the Marquis of *Ormonde's* party, who has sent hither some persons *to justify him with regard to the imprisonment of the Earl of Glamorgan*, and to cool the vigorous measures

“ measures concerting here. In the mean
 “ time, I cannot but assure all of them,
 “ that if resolutions shall be taken con-
 “ formable to their first oath of confede-
 “ racy, and they shew a firmness in de-
 “ ference of religion, his Holiness will sup-
 “ ply them with new subsidies, and pro-
 “ cure them still more considerable ones
 “ from other Princes. In the mean while,
 “ his Holiness, agreeably to what Father
 “ *Francis Lucas* writes to Father *Sca-*
 “ *rampi*, may perhaps make some agree-
 “ ment with Sir *Kenelm Digby*; tho’ the
 “ low circumstances of the King render it
 “ probable, that all the treaties, that shall
 “ be in any manner made with him, will
 “ be absolutely ineffectual, since he is
 “ not master of himself, but oppress’d by
 “ the *Protestants*, and in the power of them
 “ and the *Puritans* *.”

THE General Assembly of the Confe-
 derate Catholics being met, wrote to the
 Lord Lieutenant, pressing the Earl of *Gla-*
morgan's release, “ as absolutely necessary
 “ for the relief of *Chester* then besieged,
 “ and

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1033—1040.

"and in distress; for which service 3000
 "men were ready to embark, and nothing
 "wanting but the ships, for which the
 "Earl had contracted to transport them:
 "That all was at a stand by his imprison-
 "ment; and neither that expedition, nor
 "the treaty of peace, could go on, till he
 "was set at liberty." Sir *Robert Talbot* was
 likewise sent on the 16th of *January*, to
 second these letters *, and to declare, that
 they could not *resume the treaty, until the*
Earl was released †.

THE Lord Lieutenant having therefore
 already prevailed upon the Earl, to give up
 to him the instrument, by which the Con-
 federate Catholics oblig'd themselves to
 the articles of their treaty with him, tho'
 he could not induce the Earl to resign the
 command of the *Irish* troops, which were
 to be transported into *England* for the
 King's assistance ‡; the Earl, on the 21st
 of *January*, was enlarg'd, upon his own
 recognizance of 20,000 *l.* and that of the
 Marquis

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 562.

† *Cox's History of Ireland*, p. 155.

‡ *Nuncio's Memoirs*, p. 1041, 1042.

Marquis of *Clanrickarde*, and the Earl of *Kildare*, of 10,000 *l.* each, to appear on thirty days notice: And soon after his Lordship went to *Kilkenny*, where these three things were recommended to his care; 1. To hasten the Commissioners to conclude a peace. 2. To expedite the 3000 men to the relief of *Chester*. And 3, to get 3000 *l.* to help to pay the army. To which he returned these answers, *viz.* To the *first*, that they will renew the treaty, as soon as the Assembly hath digested matters for the Commissioners. To the *second*, that they are ready, and shall be sent *as soon as the peace is concluded*. And to the *third*, that it cannot yet be done*.

AND indeed the Earl, at his return to *Kilkenny*, shew'd the utmost zeal to bring the Confederate Catholics to consent to the terms of peace offer'd by the Marquis of *Ormonde*; the defects of which terms were to be supplied by himself: And this zeal was owing to his ardent desire of procuring that assistance for his Majesty, whose affairs were declining every day
more

* *Cox*, ubi supra.

more and more, which he thought could scarce be obtain'd without the peace being concluded. But the Nuncio, and others of the Clergy, and many of the People, being of opinion, that the terms of that peace were extremely defective, propos'd, that the *Cessation* should be continued; and in the mean time assistance should be sent to the King, in the same manner, as if the peace was concluded. But the Earl of *Glamorgan* opposed this proposition, and drew up a paper in *Latin*, intituled, *Commoda & Incommoda, quæ oriuntur ex Pace propositâ, una cum Rationibus pro & contra*, i. e. "The conveniences and
 "inconveniences arising from the peace
 "propos'd, with the reasons for and a-
 "gainst it." Among other reasons for it, he mentioned this, that "by means of this
 "peace, such *concessions* of his Majesty
 "in favour of the Catholic Religion are
 "introduc'd, as could only be obtain'd by
 "a most successful war." He observes indeed, that it might be objected, that the *concessions*, which he made to them by his Majesty's authority, with respect to the public exercise of their religion, tho'

very

very advantageous, were yet *secret*. To which he answers, that they were no secret to the Nuncio, or to the Supreme Council. And as for the other exception, that the *concessions* depended intirely on his life, and would prove ineffectual in case of his death; he denied that inference, since his *consent in the King's name* would be still extant, and his *Majesty's authority to him* would remain in the hands of the Confederate Catholics; and the principal officers of the army were bound by the same oath, which he had taken. But if the King should not stand to the agreement, the Confederate Catholics would have still greater reason for continuing the war. If it should be urg'd, that since the *concessions*, in favour of the *public exercise* and *propagation* of the *Catholic Religion*, were not to be inserted among the articles of pacification, but to be put upon the foot of *confidence* in the *King*, in a *private way*, the publication of the articles of peace would appear scandalous and dishonourable to the Catholics; he replies, that the articles of peace were not to be printed or publish'd, till the *private concessions*

cessions should likewise be made public; and that, besides, there was a clause in those articles of peace, *that the King's concessions were to be observ'd*; which plainly shew'd, that there were some *concessions* not known to every body; and that the King engages to ratify them, without the intervention of any *heretical Commissioner or Counsellor*; "by which, says "the Earl, my concessions are directly "marked out." He added, in the last place, that unless the peace was concluded, his hopes would be intirely at an end, and he would resign the power intrusted to him by the King into his Majesty's hands*.

BUT however zealous the Earl was now for concluding the peace, we shall soon find him brought over to the Nuncio's opinion and measures, for proceeding to the King's assistance in such a manner only, as should be most effectual to the establishment of the *Roman Catholic Religion in England as well as Ireland*; which was the great

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1042—1045.

great point in view, in the treaty concerted at *Rome*, between the Pope and Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who, as has been already observ'd, had been sent thither by the Queen to procure assistance for the King, promising, that his Majesty should, in return, grant favourable terms to the *Roman Catholics* in *Ireland* and *England*; and at last, upon hearing of the distress of his Majesty's affairs, by the loss of the battle of *Naseby*, consented to the conditions express'd in the following paper, sent by Cardinal *Pamphilio* to the Nuncio in *Ireland* *.

Articles to be sent to the Lord Rinuccini, to be put in execution in Ireland, with power to add to and take from them, according to the present state of affairs, and as need shall be, which will be better understood there upon the place.

I. **T**HAT the King of *Great Britain* do effectually grant, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the free and public use of
the

* Ibid. 1046—1056. *Siri, Mercurio*, Vol. VIII. p. 55, 56. and *Cox*, Append. XXVI. p. 109.

the Catholic Religion; allowing the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to be restored to the Catholics, with all the churches and revenues, according to the custom of the said religion. And as to the monasteries pretended to have been released to the possessors by Cardinal *Pool*, Legate in the time of *Queen Mary*, that it be debated in a free Parliament in *Ireland*, what may or can be done in that point; as likewise touching the three Bishoprics, that of *Dublin*, and the other two, which are in the hands of the Heretic Protestants under the obedience of the King.

II. THAT he annul and repeal all the penal laws, and others whatsoever, made against the said Catholics, on the account of their Religion, from the beginning of the defection of *Henry* the eighth, to this day.

III. THAT for the better establishing the free and public exercise of the Catholic Religion, and to add more force and security to the repeal of the said laws, the King do
call

call a Parliament in *Ireland*, independent on that of *England*.

IV. THAT the government of the kingdom of *Ireland*, and the principal offices there, be put into the hands of the Catholics, and that Catholics be made capable, and promoted to offices, honours, and degrees in that kingdom, in like manner, as the Protestants have been till this time.

V. THAT the King do put into the hands of the *Irish* Catholics, or at least such *English* Catholics, as the Supreme Council of *Ireland* shall approve of, the town of *Dublin*, and the other two, which are held in his name in *Ireland*.

VI. That he join his forces with those of the *Irish*, to drive the *Scots* and Parliamentarians out of *Ireland*.

VII. THIS being perform'd by the King, and what else may in *Ireland* be added or altered in these articles by the Lord *Rinuccini*, his Holiness is willing to pay the
L Queen

Queen of *Great Britain*, a hundred thousand crowns of *Roman money*.

VIII. That the said King do repeal all the laws made against the Catholics of *England*, and particularly the two oaths of supremacy and allegiance, so as they may enjoy their revenues, honours, liberties, and privileges, as other the gentlemen of that kingdom do; so that their being Catholics shall be no manner of prejudice to them; and that in the first Parliament or other settlement of the affairs of *England*, his Majesty do approve and confirm the aforesaid repeal; and in the mean time, that they do actually enjoy all manner of equality with the Protestants.

IX. THAT an agreement be made between the King and the Supreme Council of *Ireland*, to transport into *England*, a body of an army of twelve thousand foot, under *Irish* commanders and officers, to whom shall be joined three thousand, or at least two thousand five hundred *English* horse, under Catholic commanders, upon such conditions to be adjusted between them

them concerning the government of the army, the ports of their landing, and places of security, as shall be adjudged just and convenient.

X. WHEN the said forces shall be entered into *England* and joined together in any place, his Holiness will pay the first year a hundred thousand crowns of *Roman* money by a monthly proportion; the same to be continued the second and third year, as his forces shall stand, and according to the advantage, that shall be made by the said army.

XI. AND lastly, because the first six articles may speedily be put in execution, his Holiness will expect the performance of them in six months from the date of these presents: And as to the eighth and ninth, that require perhaps longer time, he will stay four months more besides the six, beyond which he will not be tyed to this present promise. At *Rome* the 30th day of *November*, 1645.

THE original of this instrument was deliver'd to Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and two copies of it sent to the Nuncio, one on the 5th of *November*, 1645, before it was sign'd by Cardinal *Pamphilio*, and wanting the eleventh article; the other, which was complete, on the 11th of *December*.

THE former of these copies was receiv'd by the Nuncio about the end of *January*, and the latter on the 18th of *February*, 1645-6; and with it a copy of several articles, which had been drawn up by the Earl of *Arundel*, and other *English Catholics* residing at *Paris*, and transmitted to *Rome*, after signing of those with Sir *Kenelm Digby*, but before his leaving that city: And these new articles had been presented to the Pope, with a request, that they might be inserted in the treaty to be made between the Confederate Catholics of *Ireland* and the King. These articles of the *English Catholics* were accordingly referr'd to the Nuncio by the Pope's order, with a power to him " of adding to or diminishing them, as he should find most " advantageous to the Catholic Cause, and " the

“ the *public exercise* of the *orthodox Faith*
“ in *Ireland*, and most conducive to what
“ might be done in *England*.” The arti-
cles were as follow * :

I. THAT the King repeal all penal and even pecuniary Laws against the Catholics made since the reign of *Henry VII*.

II. THAT he exempt all Catholics from the oaths of supremacy and allegiance ; but instead of this latter, if the King shall think proper, a new oath be made, such as is usually taken by the Catholics of other countries,

III. THAT the King command by his royal authority a Catholic Army to be raised from among his subjects of *Ireland*, and to be transported into *England*, in order to defend the *royal cause*,

IV. THAT the said army be subject to the direction and command of a council of war, which shall consist of three *English* and the same number of *Irish* Catholics, to-

L 3

gether

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1056, 1057.

gether with the General and Lieutenant-General of that army. That the General shall be subject to the direction and power of this council, and the three *Irish* Commissioners be named by the Catholic Confederates in *Ireland* with the consent of the Nuncio; and the three *English* Commissioners named by those *English* Catholics, with whom the Nuncio in *France* shall agree upon that point. But if it shall happen at any time, that any one of the three *English* Commissioners, who shall be nominated, be disabled by death or any other accident, it shall be in the power of the said *English* Catholics, with the advice of the said Nuncio in *France*, to appoint another in his room,

V. THAT the said army have no Generals, nor any other persons in any degree of command, either horse or foot, but who are Catholics.

VI. THAT all the *English* Catholics, who are dispersed among the King's troops, or live elsewhere, be furnished with the King's authority to meet together in one body,
and

and join the *Irish* army with a body of horse proportionable to the foot, under the conduct of a Catholic General, to be chosen by those Catholics, with whom the Nuncio in *France* shall consult upon that affair.

VII. THAT the money, which his Holiness and the Apostolical See shall contribute to the King's necessities, shall be laid out in raising troops, and upon the said army both horse and foot; and that for that purpose, if his Holiness shall think proper, it shall be delivered into the hands of those *English* and *Irish* Catholics, whom the above mentioned Catholics shall appoint Commissioners of the army, in order to be laid out by them with the approbation of the Nuncios in *France* and *Ireland*.

VIII. That the King deliver up into the hands of those Catholics, who shall be nominated by the Pope, two or three fortified places, to be kept by them as securities of the King's promise; which places shall be the strongest of those cities and forts, which the King is still master of in *Ireland*, if the above mentioned *English* Commissioners

in the *Irish* army shall think them sufficiently strong and well fortified. But if the King shall not have in his possession such and so many cities and forts, he shall then deliver to them one, two, or three of the principal cities and forts, which the *Irish* Catholics shall make themselves masters of in *Ireland*, and which the said *English* Commissioners shall judge to be sufficiently strong.

IX. THAT the King himself sign these articles with his own hand, or send over powers to the Queen to sign them in his name: in which subscription the King shall promise to confirm and ratify within three months the two first articles under his great seal, in order that they may be delivered to his Holiness and his Ministers; and that as soon as he shall have it in his power, he will likewise procure those first articles to be ratified and confirmed by the Parliament of the whole kingdom: and that till this shall be completely executed, the above mentioned cities and forts shall be kept as a pledge and security by the Catholics appointed as above.

THE Pope, besides the subsidies sent to *Ireland*, and those promised upon the execution of the articles agreed on with Sir *Kenelm Digby*, actually gave him 20,000 crowns for the Queen, without any conditions; with which money that gentleman left *Rome* in *December* 1645, having assured the Pope, that he would immediately go to the Queen in *France*, the King in *England*, and the Nuncio in *Ireland* *.

A FEW days before the Articles agreed upon by the Pope with Sir *Kenelm* came to the hands of the Nuncio, the General Assembly was held at *Kilkenny*, on occasion of the imprisonment of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, when they appeared extremely averse to the conclusion of the peace: but upon his Lordship's releasement, many even of the Supreme Council grew again desirous of bringing it to an issue. But the Nuncio disliking the conditions, represented to them, that the security of that peace was absolutely annihilated since the Earl's imprisonment, not only because he might have

* *Ibid.* fol. 1060, 1061.

have provok'd the King by making public the authority, which his Majesty had granted to him in a private manner; but likewise on account of the severe things, which the Lord Digby, Secretary of State, had uttered at *Dublin* against the concessions, and those, who should attempt to persuade the King to confirm them. He observed likewise, that the Earl was not set entirely at liberty, but only bailed upon security given; and that therefore the Confederates could not but be apprehensive, lest, upon the execution of the peace, or the transportation of the troops into *England*, he might be prosecuted by the King's order, and leave affairs in a more embroiled state than ever they were before*.

DURING this opposition of opinions between the Supreme Council and the Nuncio, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, from the impressions, which he had received by his conversation with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, while he was at *Dublin*, abandon'd his own former sentiments and those of the Nuncio, and joined with the majority of the

* Ibid. fol. 1061, 1062.

the Council, who were for immediately concluding the peace. In the mean time the Nuncio received the articles of the Pope's peace above mentioned, which seemed to him to change the intire state of the question; and therefore having on the 6th of *February* 1645-6, called together at his house the Bishops, who came to the General Assembly, he formed a protestation in favour of these articles, which was signed by the Bishops, but to be kept secret till there was occasion to produce it*.

THE next day the Nuncio went to the General Assembly, and in a *Latin* speech represented to them the great zeal, which the Pope had for their interests; and presented to them two of his Holiness's briefs, one directed to the General Assembly, dated *March* 2d, 1644-5; and the other of the same date to the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, Nobles, and Catholic people of the *Irish* Confederates; together with a letter of Cardinal *Pamphilio* to that assembly. He then opened to them the contents of the treaty between the Pope and Sir *Kennel*

* Ibid, fol. 1062, 1063.

nelm Digby, the Queen's Resident at *Rome*; and recommended it to the Assembly and the Earl of *Glamorgan*; endeavouring to persuade the Earl, that he ought by all means to desist from prosecuting the treaty, which he had made some months before, and to insist upon that, which the Pope wrote he had made with Sir *Kenelm Digby*. But the Earl was still unmoved by the Nuncio's reasons, being extremely impatient for the conclusion of the peace, in order that he might procure an army to be sent from *Ireland* to the King's assistance. But his Lordship finding the Nuncio firm in his opinion, that the Confederates should wait for the original articles of the Pope's peace, and in the mean while prolong the *Cessation* with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and prosecute the war against the Parliament party, at the same time sending over assistance to the King; and seeing that he could do nothing without the Nuncio, whose weight and influence were so great with almost every body, he at last submitted to the Nuncio's reasons: but was always very solicitous, lest accident or negligence should retard the projected treaty
between

between the Pope, the King, the Queen, and the Nuncio himself: for which purpose several letters passed between his Lordship and the Nuncio, while they were both at *Kilkenny*, in one of which, dated the 6th of *February*, his Lordship wrote thus to the Nuncio: " Tho' only a truce should be
 " made, yet the city of *Chester* is of such
 " consequence, and it is of so much mo-
 " ment to relieve a place, where the rest
 " of the army is to land, that it is necessary
 " to transport, without the least delay, 3000
 " men to succour it. I propose likewise
 " to your most illustrious and most reve-
 " rend Lordship, to send immediately my
 " brother, with a copy of the articles agreed
 " on between his Holiness and Sir *Kenelm*
 " *Digby*, to the King, my master, in the
 " form of an agreement made between your
 " Lordship and me, by virtue of *the autho-*
 " *rity given me by his Majesty*, and of
 " the security given your Lordship by the
 " *King's own letter*; so that these articles
 " may be confirmed by the King, and
 " brought back to us ratified, before it be
 " necessary to transport the other seven
 " thousand soldiers: by which means the
 " whole

“ whole glory of making the peace will be
 “ your Lordship’s, who in the mean time
 “ may receive the original instrument from
 “ *Rome*.” The Earl likewise profess’d to
 the Nuncio, that while his brother went
 to the King, he would himself take a jour-
 ney to *Rome*, in order to hasten the Pope’s
 peace: “ And this journey, says he, will
 “ be necessary also for receiving the mo-
 “ ney, which I am certain I shall be fur-
 “ nished with in *France, Flanders*, and
 “ other places, and for providing ships to
 “ transport the other seven thousand sol-
 “ diers: and this journey of mine will be
 “ a high satisfaction to me, if I have the
 “ honour of bringing back a Cardinal’s
 “ hat for your Lordship.” But the Nuncio
 expecting every day the original instrument
 of the Pope’s peace, thought it unnecessary
 for the Earl to take such a journey *.

THE Earl on the 8th of *February* wrote
 likewise the following letter to the Mar-
 quis of *Ormonde* †.

“ My

* Ibid. fol. 1066—1069.

† Ibid. fol. 1071.

“ *My Lord,*

“ **I**T is of little use, I believe, for me to
 “ write to your Excellency what was
 “ done here yesterday in the General Assen-
 “ bly, when the Pope’s Nuncio first open’d
 “ to them his Business; for undoubtedly
 “ the report of that affair will reach
 “ you before my letter. Neither do I
 “ think there is occasion for words to
 “ persuade your Excellency, that the effects
 “ of my secret endeavours absolutely va-
 “ nish’d, when a much more advantageous
 “ peace, offer’d by the munificent and pow-
 “ erful hand of her Majesty, drew the eyes
 “ of every body to itself. Nothing was
 “ more in my wishes, than to do all the
 “ service in my power to the kingdom of
 “ *Ireland*; yet in such a manner, as should
 “ be consistent with the highest regard
 “ for the King, which is the point I al-
 “ ways have first in view. I never was
 “ so vainly ambitious, as to think, that
 “ the tranquillity of this kingdom was to
 “ be ascrib’d to me; for I had rather shew
 “ my power by the effects, than by ap-
 “ pearances and pretences; and therefore
 “ was

“ was for transacting the whole affair
 “ without noise, and in the most secret
 “ manner. The burnt child, it is said,
 “ dreads the fire; and therefore if I with-
 “ draw my self not unwillingly, from
 “ meddling hereafter with the *Concessions*,
 “ I hope my resolution will not be dis-
 “ approv’d by your Excellency, who shall
 “ always find me extremely ready to serve
 “ you in every thing in my power; and
 “ you will suffer me, according to the
 “ freedom of speech allowed me, when
 “ the interest of our common Master
 “ is concern’d, to assure you candidly and
 “ openly, that it is of the utmost impor-
 “ tance to the King and kingdom, that
 “ no cause of offence be given to the
 “ Pope’s Nuncio. For as soldiers only
 “ are to be carried from hence, the sup-
 “ port of them, and the supply of the
 “ King’s private occasions, will make it
 “ necessary for me to procure near forty
 “ thousand pounds in three months. But
 “ whence can this money be expected, but
 “ from the Catholic countries? But how
 “ averse from us the professors of that
 “ religion will be, if the Pope be offended,
 “ I

" I leave to your Excellency's consider-
 " ation. I have therefore sincerely de-
 " clared to your Excellency's most faithful
 " friends, who are at the same time my
 " own, that I can do nothing, if the Nun-
 " cio should be disgusted and oppose me.
 " And it is evident to me, unless I were
 " void of truth and sense, that this Na-
 " tion will never be prevailed upon, in op-
 " position to so great a prelate, to assist
 " the King by an union of their forces
 " and affections. Whoever asserts the
 " contrary of this, deceives either him-
 " self or your Excellency, who, I am
 " assured, intend nothing else, than the
 " advantage of the King and this king-
 " dom. But since the *high post* which
 " you hold, and the *difference of reli-*
 " *gion*, will not permit your Excellency to
 " engage *openly* in this affair, I believe it
 " would not be at all improper for you, to
 " delegate that office to others, with whom
 " if your Excellency shall join me, who,
 " tho' unequal in other respects, am in-
 " ferior to none in friendship and regard
 " for you, I doubt not, that we shall in
 " a few days, and even a few hours, ob-

" tain of the Nuncio, whatever shall be
 " thought reasonable and honourable for
 " his Majesty; myself alone having by
 " the interest and good will of the Nun-
 " cio gained this point, that three thousand
 " soldiers are designed to be sent to the
 " relief of *Chester*; and to-morrow or
 " next day he is to have the chief ma-
 " nagement of that proposal in the Ge-
 " neral Assembly. These things I had to
 " offer to your Excellency, that they may
 " be expedited as much as possible. And,
 " as I have performed my duty to the King,
 " so I have likewise given your Excellency
 " a proof of my friendship."

IN answer to this letter, the Marquis of
Ormonde, on the 11th of the same month,
 wrote as follows *:

" *My Lord,*
 " I HAVE not otherwise heard of the
 " audience given to the Nuncio there,
 " than by your Lordship's of the 8th of
 " this month; nor do at all understand
 " what

* *Carte*, Vol. III. No. 428. p. 448.

" what ground there is for the expecta-
 " tion your Lordship mentions, of *ad-*
 " *vantageous conditions* by means of *her*
 " *Majesty*; wherein if your Lordship please
 " to give me further light, I shall account
 " it an increase of my obligation to your
 " service. My Lord, my affections and
 " interest are so tied to his Majesty's
 " cause, that it were madness in me to
 " disgust any man, that hath power and
 " inclination to relieve him, in the sad
 " condition he is in; and therefore your
 " Lordship may *securely go on* in the way
 " you have proposed to yourself, to *serve*
 " *the King, without fear of interruption*
 " *from me*, or so much as inquiring into
 " the means you work by. My com-
 " mission is to treat with his Majesty's
 " Confederate Catholic Subjects here for
 " a peace, upon conditions of honour and
 " assistance to him, and of advantage to
 " them; which accordingly I shall pursue
 " to the best of my skill, but shall not
 " venture upon any negotiation foreign to
 " the powers I have received.

“ I HOPE the supplies your Lordship
“ labours for with so much diligence,
“ will yet come seasonably for the re-
“ lief of *Chester*, notwithstanding the ru-
“ mours raised here of the taking of it.
“ But of this, and the rest of the 10,000
“ men, I can say no more, than I lately
“ have done in a letter I commended to
“ Mr. *Browne's* conveyance. I rest

“ *Your Lordship's, &c.*

“ Ormonde.

“ *Dublin Castle, the 11th of February,*
“ 1645.”

THE Nuncio on the 9th of that month made a second speech to the General Assembly, whom he endeavoured to persuade, not to insist upon the articles of peace already made with the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and to be made with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, but to wait for the Pope's peace. He observed, that the former treaty was dishonourable to them, because the ecclesiastical conditions were to be kept secret; and not secure, because the Earl of *Glamorgan* could not give any other security than

than the King's pleasure; and therefore the confirmation of the *Concessions* was trusted to future and uncertain events, namely the transportation of soldiers, &c. Whereas in the Pope's peace there was *honour*, on account of the person, who had the management of it, and the publication of the articles; and there was *security*, because it was managed by a great Prince. However in this speech he took no notice of the 5th article of the Pope's peace, by which the King was to put into the Hands of the *Irish* Catholics, or at least such *English* Catholics, as the Supreme Council should approve of, *Dublin* and the two other places, which were held in his name in *Ireland*; he being apprehensive, that this article might give offence to the Marquis of *Ormonde's* party in the Assembly, who would rather throw things into confusion, than consent to the wresting of *Dublin* from him. But the exact knowledge of these articles was too far spread to be concealed from the Marquis and his friends*; and the Nuncio had afterwards grounds to conclude, from the

M 3

boldness

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1073—1076.

boldness with which some of the *Ormonde* party talked, that tho' the King should consent to the Pope's peace, the Marquis would refuse to submit to it*.

THREE days after, viz. the 12th of *February*, the Earl of *Glamorgan* made a speech in the General Assembly to compose matters, and proposed to them to appoint some of the most eminent and prudent of their body to treat with the Nuncio, for removing of mistakes, and reconciling of differences; offering his own service for that end. Deputies were accordingly appointed, who offered the following reasons to the Nuncio, for concluding the peace with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, before the receipt of the articles of the Pope's peace:

I. THAT the Marquis of *Ormonde*'s powers from the King, to treat with the *Irish* about peace, extended only to the 1st of *April*; and therefore if those powers should expire, the King, unless the peace was now concluded, would be deprived of all

* Ibid. fol. 1076.

all advantages expected from it ; which were not only the confirmation of the *political articles*, but likewise the junction of the Marquis's forces against the *Puritans*, and the accession of the Marquis of *Clanricarde*, and other *neutral* persons, to the Confederates.

II. THAT if the peace should not be concluded, and only a truce made, the troops designed for the assistance of the King could not depart without that security, lest they should be treated in *England* as Rebels ; and that the Marquis of *Ormonde* himself was unwilling, that they should go to *England* without such a conclusion of the peace. So that it would appear, as if the Confederates denied the King assistance, at a time when his Majesty was in such distress, that the least delay might be fatal to him, or at least oblige him to agree with the Parliament at the expence of *Ireland*.

III. THAT the hastening of the conclusion of this peace would be of great advantage to his Holiness's *ecclesiastical peace*.

For since it is declared in the articles of the peace with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, that all things should stand good, which the King, *by the Intervention of any person whatever*, shall have granted to the Catholics in point of Religion; and since this article is to be confirmed in the Parliament of *Dublin*, and ratified by the authority of the Great Seal, this will be immediately necessary to the Pope's peace. For if this authority were wanting, the King would be obliged to confirm that peace some other way, which might now be prevented by the Protestants, who began to suspect the King's facility in *those concessions*.

IV. THAT since the Earl of *Glamorgan* was ready to settle anew with the Nuncio the Ecclesiastical Articles, upon supposition that his Holiness's peace should not take place, the Council would now oblige itself to wait for the one or the other, and consider it as ratified, on condition, that the peace with the Marquis of *Ormonde* should be concluded for the present,

present, and that the clergy will not secede from the laity, and continue in suspense.

V. Lastly, THAT it was sufficient, that the peace should be concluded, but not published, since we are certain, that the *profane peace* will not be executed before the promulgation of the *ecclesiastical*, and both of them will proceed, as the Nuncio desires, with an equal pace*.

THE Nuncio, in his answer, gave his reasons against concluding the peace with the Marquis of *Ormonde*, till the Pope's articles of peace were received; and these reasons were founded upon the *dishonour* and *insecurity* of the former peace, since the *profane peace* might be published without the *ecclesiastical*; and since the Marquis of *Ormonde* was not to be trusted, lest he should annul the Pope's treaty, either in the whole or in part†.

THIS dispute between the Nuncio and the Deputies continued several days, during which

* Ibid. fol. 1079, 1080.

† Ibid. fol. 1081, 1082.

which the Earl of Glamorgan used his
 utmost endeavours to reconcile them, that
 the transportation of the troops designed
 for the King's assistance might not be
 retarded. For which purpose he drew up
 a paper in *Italian*, which he presented to
 the Nuncio in his own name and that of
 the Deputies, in which he observed,
 " That with regard to the security and
 " compliance of the King, the *first point*
 " turned upon the *method of treating* the
 " things, that were then necessary; and
 " the *second* upon the *execution* of them.
 " As to the method of *treating*, that
 " might be considered in a double light.
 " The *first* is a *public one*, covered with
 " such a pretext, as would keep the Pro-
 " testant party firm to the King, at least
 " till the Catholics were in a condition to
 " serve him. The *second* is a *private one*,
 " which must carry with it such power
 " and force, *as may satisfy* and encou-
 " rage all Catholics, who were such zea-
 " lous friends of his Majesty, and the con-
 " federate Princes, and especially his Ho-
 " linefs, and may terminate in the advan-
 " tage of the King's best subjects, the Ca-
 " tholics

" tholics of both kingdoms, and above all
 " the-Confederates of *Ireland*. For which
 " purpose, *adds the Earl*, we lay before
 " your Lordship the absolute necessity of
 " concluding the peace as soon as possible.
 " For tho' the troops intended for the as-
 " sistance of the King my master are
 " hastened, yet they cannot proceed on
 " their voyage, as it were to be wished,
 " unless there be some certainty of the
 " above-mentioned peace being concluded.
 " Wherefore, tho' we have no doubt about
 " the pious views and more advantageous
 " terms of the articles agreed between the
 " Pope and the Queen; yet we request
 " your most illustrious and most reverend
 " Lordship, to assign a certain time, and
 " that at as short a distance as possible,
 " for absolutely concluding these articles;
 " and that if this shall not happen to be
 " done within that assigned time, your
 " Lordship will then be contented with
 " the *concessions already made by the*
 " *Earl of Glamorgan by his Majesty's*
 " *authority*, or to be made by him, ac-
 " cording to the circumstances of affairs
 " at that time, and to be joined to the
 " articles

“ articles of the Marquis of *Ormonde*, with
 “ whose wishes we desire to acquiesce as
 “ far as we can, in order to oblige him
 “ to the utmost ; since in the posts, which
 “ he now holds, he can be of the greatest
 “ disservice or service to our affairs *.

THE

* “ Hæc disceptatio dies plures inter nuncium &
 “ commissarios fuit intricatissima, *Glamorgano* inte-
 “ rea, nihil non præstante, quo sententiarum disso-
 “ nantiam componeret, ne secus regi cōpiæ auxi-
 “ liares in *Angliam* non transmitterentur. Quare ille
 “ suo & commissariorum nomina in schedulâ *Italica*
 “ tunc nuncio porrectâ, præter alia hic superflua.
 “ Quantum, inquit, ad regis et domini mei securita-
 “ tem atque obsequium spectat ; prima vertitur in modo
 “ tractandi res jam necessarias, & secunda ab earun-
 “ dem executione pendet. Quod tractandi modum
 “ concernit, is meo iudicio duplici ratione confide-
 “ rari debet. Prima est palam facienda, quæ comi-
 “ tetur prætextum talem coram mundo, ut securas
 “ reddat domino meo regi suas Protestantium par-
 “ tes, saltem donec Catholici in eo, quo suæ ma-
 “ jestati inservire valeant, statu collocentur. Se-
 “ cunda ratio tractandi ponenda est velut secreta ; &
 “ hæc in se contineat necesse est talem substantiam &
 “ valorem, qui satisfaciât atque animum addat om-
 “ nibus Catholicis, ipsius tantoperê amicis, & confœ-
 “ deratis principibus, præsertim suæ Sanctitati, cedat-
 “ que in re optimorum regis subditorum, nempe Ca-
 “ tholicorum utriusque regni, et præ alijs in orthodox-
 “ orum *Ibæniæ* confœderatorum, commodum & fo-
 “ latium. In quam metam tendentis illustrissimæ &
 “ reverendissimæ dominationi vestræ absolutam pacis
 “ quam possit citissimè pangendæ necessitatem ante
 “ oculos statuimus. Nam etsi copiæ subsidiariæ domini
 “ meq

THE Earl of *Glamorgan* having thus laboured to draw over both parties to the King's service, yet their opinions being directly opposite, his Lordship fell under suspicion of them both; to remove which from the Nuncio's mind, and to engage his interest for his Majesty's benefit, on the third day of the conferences between the Nuncio and the Deputies, he wrote to him the following letter †.

“ Most

“ meo regi subministrandæ accelerent, non possunt ta-
 “ men, sicut desiderandum esset, pergere, nisi de præ-
 “ fatâ pace contrahendâ aliquatenus constet. Quare
 “ licet de piis intentionibus & potioribus articulis inter
 “ papam & reginam contextis non dubitemus, ni-
 “ hilominus illustrissimæ & reverendissimæ domina-
 “ tioni vestræ supplicamus, ut certum præfigat tem-
 “ pus, idque, quoad ejus fieri potest, brevissimum, il-
 “ lis articulis absolvendis & certè statuendis: quæ
 “ certitudo si in id spatium non incidat, tunc domi-
 “ natio vestra illustrissima sit contenta conditioni-
 “ bus jam suæ Majestati auctoritate à Glamorganicæ
 “ comite concessis vel concedendis, juxta rerum tunc cir-
 “ cumstantias necessariis, iisque conjungendis cum ar-
 “ ticularum Marchionis *Ormonia*, nunc regis commissa-
 “ rii, cujus votis, quantum possumus, acquiescere,
 “ omnique officio ipsum demereri cupimus. Nam se-
 “ cundum provinciam, quam jam obit, rebus nostris
 “ & jacturam & meliorem successum procreare po-
 “ test.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1082, 1083.

† Ibid. fol. 1083.

“ Most illustrious and most reverend
“ Lord, my most honoured Patron,
“ **I** *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan* promise
“ and swear to your most illustrious
“ Lordship, that I will obey all your com-
“ mands, without any reluctance, heartily,
“ and with pleasure. And this perpetual
“ protestation I make on my knees to your
“ Lordship, not only as the Pope’s Mi-
“ nister, but likewise as so eminent a per-
“ sonage; and as witnesses of my sincerest
“ intentions in this point, I call upon the
“ most blessed Virgin and all the Saints of
“ heaven. And likewise sincerely pro-
“ mise, that in all things, which respect
“ your honour, I will be no less solicitous,
“ and proceed with no less care, than if my-
“ self was concerned, and that I will propose
“ nothing to your Lordship but what is
“ proper, nor do any thing which is con-
“ trary to your honour or inclination, but
“ what is suitable to the obligation, which
“ I am under to be always

*Your most illustrious
and most reverend Lordship’s
most affectionate and most
humble Servant till death,*

“ 16 Feb. 1646.”

Glamorgan.

HAVING

HAVING laid this foundation, he proceeded upon the plan of it, with a view of making use of the Nuncio for the service of the King and the *English* Catholics, and of executing what he had given his Majesty hopes of, with relation to procuring troops from *Ireland* for his Majesty's assistance *. This is evident from another letter of the Earl to the Nuncio, which was as follows :

“ Most illustrious and most reverend
“ Lord,

“ **T**HERE is no occasion for me to
“ employ any further protestations
“ to persuade your Lordship, how sincerely
“ I desire, that the whole glory of the ad-
“ vantages, which this nation and we poor
“ Catholics of *England* may attain, should,
“ as it ought, be ascribed to his Holiness,
“ thro' your Lordship's intervention ; whom
“ I beseech to consider the authority granted
“ your Lordship by his Holiness, and to
“ recall to your memory *the letter written*
“ *by the King my master to your Lordship,*
“ and my *powers* for treating with your
“ Lordship. These things being laid down

“ as

* Ibid. fol. 1084.

“ as a foundation, let us not sleep over
 “ our cause, but finish all the conventions
 “ made or to be made between his Holiness
 “ and our Queen, (tho’ without suffering
 “ them to be published,) till your
 “ Lordship shall have received the original
 “ instruments themselves, or till an answer
 “ shall be returned from the King by
 “ means of my brother, who shall be sent
 “ to his Majesty in the name of your Lordship
 “ and myself. During which interval,
 “ tho’ there be only a cessation of arms, yet
 “ our peace will be secure, and depend only
 “ on such conditions, as shall be acceptable
 “ to his Holiness; for it will not be such a
 “ peace, as the Pope disapproves of in his
 “ letters, but the same, which your Lordship
 “ desires. But while the articles are
 “ agreed upon and concluded between
 “ your Lordship and me, and no change is
 “ made in the government, or in any other
 “ respect, till the peace shall be published,
 “ and the ratification transmitted hither by
 “ the King from *England*, no danger will
 “ arise either on your Lordship’s or my
 “ part, since the seven thousand soldiers
 “ will not pass over into *England*, till the
 “ peace

“ peace be concluded and published, nor
“ even depart, till I shall return from *Italy*,
“ and there shall be a certainty concerning
“ his Holiness’s pleasure.” At the close of
this letter, the Earl proposes, that the peace
be not concluded till the end of three
months; but that in the mean time the
Nuncio sign the articles on the part of the
Pope, as his Lordship would on the
part of the King; and thus the *Irish* nation
would be satisfied, and his Majesty the more
secure, as during that whole time the ar-
ticles would not be published; the king-
dom would be safe, as no alteration
would be made in its government; and
the Nuncio’s mind be set at ease, since
every thing would be done agreeably to
the Pope’s intention.

THE Earl likewise signed the following Instrument of engagement to the Nuncio*:

“ **I** *Edward Somerset, alias Plantaginet,*
 “ *Lord Herbert, Baron of Beaufort,*
 “ *Ragland and Gower, Earl of Glamorgan,*
 “ and eldest son of the most honourable the
 N “ *Marquis*

* Ibid. fol. 1085.

“ Marquis of *Worcester*, to all, who shall
 “ see these presents, do testify, that I ra-
 “ tify the concessions made and confirmed
 “ between his Holiness and the most serene
 “ Queen of *England*, and under the same
 “ conditions, and that in the name of my
 “ most serene Master the King of *England*,
 “ *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and by
 “ the authority intrusted to me by him, not
 “ only confirmed by his hand and royal
 “ signet, but likewise in the faith of a
 “ Christian, by which his most serene Ma-
 “ jesty bound himself to confirm all things
 “ done by me in his name. And I pro-
 “ mise to the most illustrious and most re-
 “ verend Archbishop and Prince of *Fermo*,
 “ his Holiness’s Nuncio extraordinary, that
 “ the King himself shall ratify those con-
 “ cessions; upon this condition, that if the
 “ original instrument of agreement between
 “ our most holy Father Pope *Innocent X.*
 “ and the most serene Queen of *England*,
 “ shall arrive before the first of *May*, this
 “ my engagement shall be null, and shall
 “ be kept absolutely secret till the day a-
 “ bove-mentioned, unless his Excellency
 “ the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* shall pub-
 “ lish

" lish by his authority the *political con-*
 " *cessions* ; in which case this engagement
 " shall likewise be made public, with such
 " circumstances, as shall be thought proper
 " by the most illustrious and most reverend
 " Nuncio and me ; who, in testimony of
 " this, and by the authority aforesaid, have
 " subscribed my hand, and affixed my seal
 " to these presents.

" *Glamorgan.*

" 18 Feb. 1646."

THE Nuncio being at last prevailed upon
 by the importunities and promises of the
 Earl of *Glamorgan*, agreed, the day after
 the date of the last instrument, to the fol-
 lowing articles between himself and the
 Deputies and that Earl *.

THAT the *Cessation* be continued till the
 1st of *May* ; at which time, or even sooner,
 if the Nuncio did not produce the original
 agreement between the Pope and the Queen
 of *Great-Britain* signed and sealed, he
 should ratify whatever should appear just
 and proper to him on the part of the Pope,

N 2

and

* Ibid. fol. 1087.

and to the Earl of *Glamorgan* on the part of the King of *England*, that an honourable and desirable peace might be no longer delayed : That if in the mean time the confederate Catholics should send to treat with the Lord Lieutenant about the *political points*, no prejudice should arise from that treaty to this future one between the Nuncio and the Earl of *Glamorgan*, on condition that the former shall not be concluded nor published, till the conclusion and publication of the latter ; and that in the mean while no alteration shall be made in the political state and civil government of the kingdom, but that both treaties shall be concluded and published together and at the same time, with the approbation of the General Assembly, if the Nuncio and the Earl shall think it necessary to call together such an Assembly.

THE Nuncio was however impatient to receive the original instrument of the Pope's articles, either ratified by the King, or shortly to be ratified ; but at the same time apprehensive, lest the Marquis of *Ormonde* should refuse to obey the King's and Queen's orders,

orders, especially the article relating to the delivering up of *Dublin*, and other strong places, to the Catholics. He was likewise jealous, lest the Marquis's party, when it came to the point of compelling him, should rather abandon the Confederacy than the Marquis. The Earl of *Glamorgan*, on the other hand, fearing, that the Nuncio might retard the troops designed for the King's succour till the execution of that treaty, and that the large subsidies promised by the Pope to the King in that treaty, and the advantageous terms settled in it for his countrymen the *English* Catholics, might come to nothing thro' the means of the Marquis of *Ormonde* and his party, he resolved first to procure the sending over to the King the three thousand soldiers appointed by the General Assembly to go to *England*, and then to make a voyage himself into foreign parts, in order to press the Pope at *Rome*, the Queen at *Paris*, and the King in *England*, to hasten that treaty, and obtain elsewhere supplies, to enable the greater *Irish* army for their expedition into *England*. And to remove any suspicions of himself from the mind of the Nuncio,

the same day, on which the articles between the Nuncio and Deputies were signed and sealed, he took the following oath *.

“ **I** *Edward Earl of Glamorgan* promise and swear to your most illustrious and most reverend Lordship, that I will adhere to your party, not only against the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and all his relations and favourers, but likewise against all others, who shall oppose the Pope's treaty and your measures for the good of the Catholic Religion, and the service of the King my master. For which purpose, I promise at my return to supply your Lordship with 200,000 crowns, 10,000 arms for foot, 2000 cases of pistols, 800 barrels of powder, and thirty or forty ships well provided, over which your Lordship shall name an Admiral. For I esteem your cause to be the cause of God, and of the King my master, in whose name I make all the concessions agreed upon between your Lordship and me; and am therefore
“ ready,

* Ibid. fol. 1090, 1091. & Siri, Mercurio, vol. VIII. p. 60.

“ ready, if your Lordship pleases, to confirm this my resolution before the most holy sacrament. In the mean time I subscribe my name, and affix my seal, this 19th day of *February*, 1646.

“ *Glamorgan.*”

THE Nuncio being satisfied with this, went two days after to the Assembly, exhorting them to go on with their business, and to hasten the three thousand soldiers to the relief of *Chester*; for which purpose the Earl of *Glamorgan*, being accompanied by *Massari* Dean of *Fermo*, whom the Nuncio sent with him to hasten that expedition, went immediately to *Waterford*, in order to attend the transportation of those troops; and while he was there, on the 10th of *March*, wrote a letter to the Nuncio, in which he offered to make use of the powers intrusted with him, and to create one Earl, two Viscounts, and three Barons, such as the Nuncio should name, which would enable him to gratify the *Irish* *; this power of conferring

N 4

honours

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1091—1094.

honours being given him by the King's patent of the 1st of *April* 1644.

BUT before this, immediately upon his arrival at *Waterford*, his Lordship wrote the following letter to the King †.

“ *May it please your Majesty,*

“ **I** Am now at *Waterford*, providing
 “ shipping immediately to transport
 “ 6000 foot ; and 4000 more are by *May*
 “ to follow them. I hope these will yet
 “ come opportunely to the relief of
 “ *Chester*. What hath been the occasion
 “ of so long delays, and yet *suffers not*
 “ *your Majesty's service herein to proceed*
 “ *with that advantage it might do*, I con-
 “ ceive not so fit to commit to paper ;
 “ but I will shortly send my brother, who
 “ shall fully inform your Majesty with all
 “ particulars, and thereby rectify your
 “ opinion, and give you true knowledge,
 “ *who are your faithful servants*. I hope
 “ long e'er this Captain *Bacon* hath ar-
 “ rived with you since my enlargement ; and
 “ therefore I need only tell your Majesty,
 “ that *my further services intended for*
 “ you

† *Rushworth*, part IV. vol. I. p. 249.

(185)

“ you will, I hope, *without further crosses,*
“ *be suffered to go on; tho’ strange is the*
“ *industry used by many seeming friends*
“ *to hinder me therein.* But I am con-
“ fident it shall not lie in their power,
“ your Majesty *remaining still constant,* as
“ I doubt not but you will, to your fa-
“ vourable opinion, and right interpreta-
“ tion of my poor endeavours; which, if
“ they may take place, will *procure you to*
“ *be a glorious and happy Prince,* I having
“ no other ends, but to approve myself,

“ Sir,

“ Your sacred Majesty’s

“ Most dutiful, obedient

“ Subject, and passionately

“ Devoted Servant,

Waterford,

“ Glamorgan.”

Feb. 23, 1645-6.

ON the 27th of the same month, his Lordship wrote likewise the following letter to the Lord Culpepper * :

“ My Lord,

“ **H**AVING overpast many rubs and
“ difficulties, the long-expected work is
“ at

* *Husband’s Collection*, p. 825.

“ at last *compassed*, which by *what means*
“ it was *retarded*, your Lordship perhaps
“ before hath learned, and will be more
“ faithfully and amply related by the
“ bearer, Capt. *Bamber*, whom I have
“ employed to his Highness the Prince,
“ to give an account of the state of affairs
“ here, and in what a mist we are for
“ want of intelligence, which one *Allen*,
“ a merchant of *Waterford*, proposeth to
“ undertake a course for.”

THE next day the Earl wrote another letter to Lord *Hopton* in these terms * :

“ *My noble Lord,*
“ IF the report of the *many difficulties*
“ wherewith I have struggled, in *com-*
“ *passing my designs for his Majesty's ser-*
“ *vice*, have not before this reached you,
“ a faithful relation of the whole will be
“ made to you by the bearer hereof,
“ Capt. *Allen*, whom I desire your Lord-
“ ship to present unto the Prince his High-
“ ness as an honest man, and one that
“ proposeth a course for intelligence to
“ pass between this country and his Ma-
“ jesty's

* Ibid. p. 824.

“ jesty’s Quarters, whereof there is great
 “ need. Now, God be thanked, *the bu-*
 “ *siness is brought to that upshot*, that the
 “ ten thousand men are designed for his
 “ Majesty’s service, six thousand of which
 “ are ready for transportation.—— This
 “ bearer hath intimated the Prince’s desire
 “ for having 300 men here for his High-
 “ ness’s life-guard, which may be trans-
 “ ported to his Highness by the return of
 “ such shipping, as shall be sent hither for
 “ the aforesaid service.”

But the *Irish* troops, whose embarka-
 tion the Earl of *Glamorgan* was attending,
 were disappointed of the service they in-
 tended, by the surrender of *Chester* in *Fe-*
bruary, after a long siege, to the Parlia-
 ment. And his Majesty’s message to the
 Parliament of the 29th of *January*, 1645-6,
 disowning the Earl of *Glamorgan*’s treaty
 of the 25th of *August*, 1645, being
 brought to *Kilkenny* in *March* following,
 struck the Catholic Confederates there
 with surprise and consternation, finding
 all their pains and expence of time and
 treasure thrown away, and themselves ex-
 posed

posed to the resentment of their enemies, both of *England* and *Scotland*, if they should make peace in the present circumstances. But the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who conceived great hopes of procuring vast assistance for the King from his voyage abroad, and especially to *Rome*, and of bringing to an happy issue the Pope's peace, the original instrument of which was expected daily with Sir *Kenelm Digby*, drew up the following paper *.

Considerations and Conclusions concerning the present State of my affairs, 29th March, 1646.

I. **A**S the King has published such a *Declaration*, I think myself at present incapable of serving him. Yet I am persuaded, that he has done this *unwillingly*, and thro' the violent impulse of others, and on account of the bad situation of his affairs. For which purpose, I am desirous to send expresse to him a person of rank, and my relation ; by whose means I shall

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1100—1102.

shall propose to his Majesty a method, by which he may enable me, under the authority of the great seal, to proceed further, both in promoting the interest of this nation, and his Majesty's own, in such a manner, that his *forced renunciation* shall not be openly touched upon, and yet my *justification*, as far as it shall conduce to the good of this kingdom, so sincerely desired by me, may attain its wished-for effect. The safety even of the lowest person of this nation, is so truly at my heart, that I would not expose the life of one man to danger on my own account, nor press the transportation of the soldiers, till the return of the messenger to be sent to the King.

II. As I have received such instructions from the King, as these, *viz. If by any unfortunate accident we should be involved in any counsels, in appearance contrary to the powers given by us to you, you shall make no other account of them, but by putting yourself in a condition to help us, and set us free*; I do not find any more expeditious way of relieving his Majesty from

from his distress, than by taking no notice of any thing which he has done *thro' compulsion*, and by supporting this nation. But if the Supreme Council will engage to adhere firmly to me, I will likewise oblige myself to employ the ships and money, which I had before designed for *England*, to the assistance of this nation, and devote my labours and endeavours to the service of this kingdom, till we can all jointly succour his Majesty in *England*. I desire, that the most illustrious and most reverend Nuncio of the Apostolic See will first of all subscribe this treaty of ours.

BUT in this affair, I require nothing of the Supreme Council, but their private faith, till I shall return, by God's blessing, with all things necessary. And tho' I am sensible, how little this concerns my own interest, yet my zeal prompts me to it. But I am extremely desirous, that General *Preston* should march the troops, designed for me, into *Munster*, to compose the commotions there, as well to take care of this kingdom, whose safety is greatly concerned in it, as that when, thro' God's blessing,

bleffing, I return with the fubfidies, I may find an army ready. I defire, that our mutual engagement may be committed to writing, and figned and fealed, and kept under the moft profound fecrecy."

But this whole fcheme proved abortive ; and the Supreme Council having maintained the troops at the expence of the kingdom, in the port of *Waterford*, feveral weeks after the furrender of *Chefter*, and the receipt of the King's meffage to the Parliament, difowning the Earl of *Glamorgan's* treaty, and finding no fhips furnifhed by the King, nor the Marquis of *Ormonde*, nor the Earl, for embarking the troops, nor any profpect of being fupplied with fuch fhips, they publifhed a refolution againft fending thofe troops into *England* ; of which, and other difficulties of his, the Earl complained in the following letter to Father *Robert Nugent* at *Kilkenny* *.

" Reverend

* Ibid. p. 1102, 1103.

“ *Reverend Sir,*

“ **I** Return you thanks for the messenger
 “ sent me on purpose, and your letter ;
 “ and desire you to signify to the Nuncio,
 “ that if all the devils on earth and in hell
 “ had not conspired against me, I should
 “ not have been reduced to these diffi-
 “ culties and distresses ; and that the loss of
 “ life itself would have been more tolerable
 “ to me, being now tired of it on account
 “ of the present difficulty, and I can think
 “ of nothing but redeeming myself ; as-
 “ suring you, that the misfortunes of my
 “ whole life have not perplexed me so
 “ much as this : to remedy which, tho’ I
 “ am pressed by letters and most urgent
 “ business to go to *Limerick*, I still con-
 “ tinue here. I swear to you, that I have
 “ been disappointed of seven thousand
 “ pounds *sterling*, which I thought as in-
 “ tirely my own as if the money had been
 “ actually paid me ; and all this since the
 “ resolution was published against sending
 “ the soldiers to *England*. I do not think
 “ it necessary to remind the Nuncio, that
 “ my enemies in *Ireland* are exasperated
 “ against

" against me, because they perceive me
 " so warmly and sincerely affected to-
 " wards him, and know, that I shall al-
 " ways continue so ; and because I should
 " not hesitate to expose my life and for-
 " tune to the utmost danger, in order to
 " bring to an issue his commission and
 " business in this kingdom. This seems to
 " me to deserve, that some pity and tole-
 " ration should be shewn towards me,
 " especially in an event unforeseen by me,
 " and forced upon me, and which has given
 " me a vexation, than which I can ima-
 " gine nothing more severe to me. I re-
 " main, in great affliction,

" *Your affectionate*

" *Cousin and Servant,*

" *Glamorgan.*"

Waterford, 3 May, 1646.

IN the mean time the negotiations of
 peace were carried on between the Su-
 preme Council and the Marquis of Or-
 mende. It has been already observed, that
 the Nuncio and the General Assembly
 had agreed on the 19th of *February*, that
 no peace should be made with the Marquis

O

till

till the 1st of *May*, in expectation of the articles of the Pope's peace. But another Assembly, which met on the 6th of *March*, sent the Lord *Muskerry* and other Commissioners to conclude the peace with the Marquis of *Ormonde*; which the Nuncio protested against in a letter to the Assembly, on the 15th of *March*, who denied, that the peace was concluded, or would be before the 1st of *May*. The Nuncio knew nothing yet of the King's having disavowed the Earl of *Glamorgan's* peace; which must appear the more astonishing to him, as in a letter, which he wrote to Cardinal *Pamphilio* on the 15th of *March*, he observed, that the Earl having, during his imprisonment at *Dublin* by the Marquis of *Ormonde*, wrote to the King, he had received an answer from his Majesty, of which the Nuncio sent the Cardinal a copy, and in which his Majesty expressed such an affection for the Catholics, as implied, that he would not reject the articles signed at *Rome* *. But when his Majesty's Declaration against the Earl of *Glamorgan's* peace was known at *Kilkenny*, the Nuncio wrote

* Ibid. fol. 1140, 1141.

wrote again to the Supreme Council there on the 20th of *March*, and proposed *;

1. THAT they should consider of all methods for the defence of the kingdom.

2. THAT having considered the articles proposed by the *English* Catholics, which had been transmitted to him by the Pope, they should resolve immediately upon some confederacy with them, and send their resolution to *France*, that it might forthwith be made known to those *English* Catholics.

3. THAT they should certify the Kings of *Spain* and *France* concerning the state of their affairs, desiring them to consider, how much it concerned them both, that *Ireland* be not subdued by the Parliament; and by that means excite those two Kings to grant them assistance, or make a diversion in their favour.

4. THAT they should procure by all means an union of the *Catholics*, even those,

O 2

who

* Ibid. fol. 1142.

who were *neutral*; and if the Marquis of *Ormonde* was willing to join the Confederates, it might be done, on condition that no further progress was made with him in respect to the *ecclesiastical peace*, since the King's party being in a manner extinct, and the Marquis fighting on our side, the Catholic Religion and Church are in that free state, which the Pope's and *Glamorgan's* articles promise.

5. THAT they should not despair of so good a cause.

THE Supreme Council returned an answer the same day, desiring a copy of the articles sent by the *English* Catholics, and declaring, that they would use their utmost endeavours to engage the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and the Marquis of *Ormonde*, in their interests *. But on the 28th of *March* 1646, the peace with that Marquis was concluded at *Dublin* by the *Irish* Commissioners; tho' the Nuncio knew nothing of this transaction till *May* following,

* Ibid. fol. 1143.

lowing †, and was waiting with impatience for the arrival of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who arrived indeed at *Paris*, where he staid several weeks, but neither procured the King's ratification of the peace, nor came over to *Ireland*; the reasons of which were probably these *: The Parliament at that very

† Ibid. fol. 1160.

* “ Ex his omnibus, quæ circa pacem pontificiam
“ & *Digbæum* in medium produxi, constat, Nuncium,
“ in omni alio pacis tractatu, donec hæc Pontificia
“ effectum sortiretur, sistendo summâ fide & integritate
“ processisse; & de facto *Digbæum* jam Româ in
“ Galliam reversum aliquot hebdomadas velut alterum
“ pedem habuisse in navi ad trajiciendum in Iberniam.
“ Quorsum autem non trajecerit, in medio relinquo:
“ Quod si conjecturis detur locus, duæ mihi hic occurrunt
“ longè validissimæ: primo, certum est Parliamentum
“ illis ipsissimis diebus prætulisse pacis cum
“ Rege contrahendæ voluntatem; dolo quidem illam
“ & malignitate plenissimam, sed omninò sufficientem
“ ad proficiendum eo, ut Rex interea hoc tractatu
“ Pontificio prosequendo supersederet, ne secus rebellibus
“ Parliamentariis pacis secum abrumpendæ ansam
“ subministraret.

“ 2. Non minus liquet *Ormonium* in Ibernâ, ejusque
“ ibi fautores etiam Catholicos, eodem tempore
“ supra modum contendisse, ut pax in illo regno contraheretur
“ toto cœlu aliâ atque illa, quam Nuncius ejusque partes
“ anhelarent. Cum ergo postea innotuerit pacem *Ormonicam*
“ illis ipsissimis diebus, nempe 28 Martii, fuisse
“ Dubliniæ secretissimè conclusam, quid ni continuò credamus,
“ eundem *Ormonium*, ipsiusque suggestionibus *Digbæum*,
“ non illum equitem, legatum ad Pontificem, sed alterum
“ tunc dignitate Baronem, religione hæreticum, & Regi à secretis,
“ aliosque

very time made some proposals of peace to the King; which might induce his Majesty to supersede the prosecution of the Pope's treaty, lest he might afford the Parliament an occasion of breaking off their negotiation with him. Besides which, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and even the Catholics in *Ireland* of his party, were zealous for concluding a peace in that kingdom, upon terms, which were extremely different from those insisted upon by the Nuncio and his friends. And when it was afterwards discovered, that the Marquis of *Ormonde's* peace

“ aliosque hujus machinationis conscios, Regi in Ang-
 “ liâ, & Reginæ in Galliâ, per nuncia & nuncios, ita
 “ rem ob oculos posuisse, ut suâ principes crediderint
 “ interesse, ne tractatum Pontificium cum Nuncio pro-
 “ sequerentur. Denique ubi alter *Digbæus* Baro uti-
 “ que 18 Aprilis Iberniam valere iussit, & in Galliam
 “ navigavit, nihil non egit, quo Reginam Angliæ,
 “ Walliæ Principem, & Aulam Gallicanam, *Ormonio*,
 “ ejusque in Ibernâ partibus, in Nuncium, eosque qui
 “ ipsi studerent, demereretur, & pacem *Ormonicam* in-
 “ trudendam curaret. Neo dubitandum est, quin iis-
 “ dem suggestionibus ex Galliâ in Angliam Pamphi-
 “ lius & Nuncius in hoc negotio castè & sincerè partes
 “ egerunt suas; alii verò Regem Reginamque impu-
 “ lerint ad deserendum tractatum pontificium, & spem
 “ in baculo arundineo, hæreticorum brachio, collocan-
 “ dam, *cujus Regem postea penitentem videbis, & de-*
 “ *siderantem ex toto corde, se tot præstigiatorum fascina-*
 “ *tionibus subtrahere, atque ad Nuncium Et Glamorga-*
 “ *num in Iberniam profugere.* Sed serò sapiunt Phry-
 “ ges.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1158, 1159.

peace was actually, tho' *secretly*, concluded at *Dublin* at that very time, *viz.* on the 28th of *March*, it is highly probable, that the Marquis, and Lord *Digby*, with their Protestant friends, represented the affair to the King in *England*, and Queen in *France*, in such a light, that their Majesties thought it their interest to desist from the prosecution of the Pope's peace with the Nuncio; of which the King appears from his letter to the Earl of *Glamorgan* on the 20th of *July* following, (which will be inserted below) to have afterwards severely repented, and to wish, that he could escape into *Ireland* to the Nuncio and the Earl of *Glamorgan*: And we shall find afterwards, that the treaty was resumed by the Queen, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and even Lord *Digby* himself, with a resolution to give the Pope and Nuncio's party in *Ireland* full satisfaction.

THE Supreme Council had removed from *Kilkenny* to *Limerick* on the 18th of *April*; but the Nuncio staid at *Kilkenny* till the 12th of *May*, when he went to *Cashel*, and thence on the 18th to *Limerick*; which last city he removed to, lest in

his absence the Supreme Council should precipitate themselves into a peace, which he thought unsafe and dishonourable *; for the conclusion of the peace was still a secret to him. However, the Marquis of *Ormonde* was desirous to render that peace effectual to his Majesty by a speedy publication of it, and procuring a considerable supply; but his Lordship and the *Irish* could not agree, having different ends in view. The Confederate Catholics designed to expel the *English* out of *Ireland* under the names of *Fanaticks*, *Parliamentarians*, *the King's Enemies*, &c. and the Marquis designed to get ten thousand *Irish* to be sent to the King's assistance in *England*. The *Irish* intended to preserve their government in the form of a distinct Republic; and the Marquis hoped to reduce them to the condition of subjects. And accordingly their negotiations were managed on both sides with a tendency to their respective ends; so that the Confederates, in the sixth article of their instructions of the 17th of *April* to Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*, order him to let his Excellency know, " That if

" he

* Ibid. fol. 1164.

“ he cause the articles of peace to be pro-
 “ claimed, then they must publish those
 “ articles concerning Religion made with
 “ the Earl of *Glamorgan*; and that it was
 “ not in their power to do otherwise, for
 “ fear of losing their foreign friends, and
 “ the danger of a rupture at home.” But
 in the two next instructions they add,
 That if the Marquis will agree, that they
 may on all sides fight to clear the kingdom
 of the *common Enemy*, their counsels in
 civil and martial matters shall be managed
 by his advice, and he shall have as much
 influence over their debates, as if he sat
 at their board, and as much power as he
 was to have by the articles during the inter-
 val of Parliament. And in their additional
 instructions of the 10th of *May*, they re-
 peat to the same effect, and desire the
 Nuncio may be countenanced; and order
 their agent to declare, *how they may be*
necessitated not to rely more upon his Ex-
cellency, if he keep himself longer in
suspence *. The Marquis of *Ormonde*
 thought it necessary to take some time to
 consider of his answer to the propositions
 made

* *Cox*, Vol. II. p. 163.

made by Mr. *Plunket* of joining his Forces to those of the Confederates, and to declare against the *common Enemy*; and on the 2d of *June* sent Sir *George Hamilton* and Colonel *Barry* to the *Irish* Committee at *Limerick*, to acquaint them, that he understood very well the necessity of an *Union*; but that he might not join with any party not deriving authority from his Majesty: Yet in whatever condition the King either was or should be, he would readily receive and make use of the assistance of such of his Majesty's subjects, as would endeavour to maintain his authority, and preserve the Kingdom for him. That it was not fit to say more to this proposition; nor could any thing further be done towards an *Union*, till the articles of peace were *published*, about which he had not yet received his Majesty's pleasure; nor had they performed the engagements made at signing them, not only as to the forces to be sent to *England*, which they alledged to be impossible, but with regard to the money they were to advance for the relief of the King's Army, which was undoubtedly in their power, and a third part of which

was

was still unpaid. In relation to the *Earl of Glamorgan's Articles*, he could not consistently, either with the discharge of his duty to the King, or with his own honour, admit of the publishing thereof, his Majesty having not only disfavoured the giving of any power to warrant them, but also fully declared against those concessions; for which reasons he expected from them a declaration of their resolution not to publish them. Those Gentlemen were likewise to press them to a speedy determination about the publication of the Peace, and to declare freely to them, that the condition of his Majesty's affairs at *Dublin* was such, as if timely hold were not taken of the overtures now made them, he should very soon be necessitated to seek some other way to recover and preserve his Majesty's rights and authority in the kingdom. The Committee of Instructions at *Limerick* excused the failures charged upon them; protested they were ready to perform their engagements; promised to omit the publication of the *Earl of Glamorgan's Concessions*; and expressed their willingness and resolution to concur and agree to the

the

the publishing of the articles of pacification as already settled. These Instructions were signed on the 12th of June, and sent by Mr. *Plunket* and Mr. *Brown*, who soon after set out for *Dublin*, where the Marquis of *Ormonde* had not yet received his Majesty's pleasure with regard to the articles of peace *.

IN the mean time, the Nuncio wrote to the Supreme Council, that if the *political Peace* were published without the *Ecclesiastical*, or the *Ecclesiastical* without a *free and public Exercise* of their Religion, and without waiting for the articles agreed upon between the Pope and the Queen, he could not consent to the peace. And with this letter he sent the *Protestation* against it signed by himself and the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy, on the 6th of *February* 1643; for he was still in expectation of the *Pope's peace*, neither the King, nor Queen, nor Sir *Kenelm Digby*, nor any person in their name, during all that time, having by word or writing signified to the Pope, Cardinal, Pam-

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 569—572.

Pamphilio, or the Nuncio, that *the said peace would not be confirmed by the King*; and even the contrary had been affirmed in Letters from *Paris* to *Rome*, and from both these cities been frequently written to the Nuncio in *Ireland* *.

ON the 10th of *June* the Nuncio wrote again to the Supreme Council, that no peace could be made at that time; much less ought that to be made, which he heard was proposed. That the King was not master of his own actions, but in the hands of others: And that consequently they could have no authority from him for the security of their Religion †; for by this time it was known in *Ireland*, that his Majesty had privately left *Oxford*, and surrendered himself on the 5th of *May* to the *Scots* army then near *Newark*. The Supreme Council returned an answer

to

* “ Vides Nuncium etiam adhuc pacem Pontificiam expectare. Toto enim hoc tempore nec Rex, nec Regina, nec Eques *Digbæus*, nec eorum nomine alius, verbo vel scripto, Pontifici, *Pamphilio*, vel Nuncio significavit, *pacem illam à Rege non esse confirmandum*. Quinimo contrarium *Parisis Romam*, & ex utroque loco in *Iberniam*, Nuncio crebris literarum fasciculis constantè scribebatur.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1169, 1170.

† Ibid. fol. 1173.

to the Nuncio on the 13th of *June*, declaring, that they were compelled by the necessity of affairs to make peace; but that they were determined to consider the *articles* of the *Earl of Glamorgan* as *ratified*, and to endeavour, by the intervention of the Apostolical See, and other Catholic Princes, to obtain still fuller terms in favour of the Catholic Religion. And if it should happen, that the peace should be immediately concluded and published, without publishing at the same time the *Earl of Glamorgan's concessions*, they desired the Nuncio to believe, that this was necessary, and for the advantage of religion. The Nuncio replied to the Council the next day, expostulating with them about the peace, and complaining, that he had not been well treated by them; and on the 25th of *June* he wrote again to the same purpose. But amidst these altercations with the Council, he discovered, that the peace had been actually made with the Marquis of *Ormonde* on the 28th of *March*; tho' the zeal of the Catholic Confederates for the execution of it was greatly cooled by the great victory obtained on the 5th of *June* by *Owen Roe O Neile* over the *Scots* and *English* at *Bemburb*,

burb, which exposed the whole province of *Ulster* to his mercy. For, upon the news of this victory, the Supreme Council sent Mr. *Browne*, to acquaint the Marquis of *Ormonde*, that they could proceed no further with respect to the peace, till they had an exact account of the King's circumstances and disposition *. And they sent about the 20th of *June* Dr. *Edward Tyrrel* to the Queen of Great Britain, the Queen Mother of France, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, to desire them to interpose their authority with King *Charles*, that he would grant the *Irish* such conditions with respect to religion and the church, that they might, in conjunction with the Nuncio, immediately conclude a peace equally safe and honourable for his Majesty, as for themselves. And the Nuncio wrote by the Doctor to the Queen of Great Britain and Cardinal *Mazarin* to the same effect †.

THE King was now with the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, who prevailed upon him to send the following orders to the Marquis of

* Ibid. fol. 1175—1209.

† Ibid. fol. 1211.

of *Ormonde*, to proceed no further in the treaty of peace with the *Irish*.

“ CHARLES R.

“ **R**IGHT trusty and right well-be-
 “ loved cousin and counsellor, we greet
 “ you well. Having long with much
 “ grief looked upon the sad condition our
 “ kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these
 “ divers years, thro’ the wicked and de-
 “ sperate rebellion there, and the bloody
 “ effects have ensued thereupon; for the
 “ settling whereof we would have wholly
 “ applied ourselves, if the differences be-
 “ twixt us and our subjects here had not
 “ diverted and withdrawn us. And not
 “ having been able by force (for that re-
 “ spect) to reduce them, we were neces-
 “ sitated, for the present safety of our Pro-
 “ testant subjects there, to give you power
 “ and authority to treat with them upon
 “ such pious, honourable, and safe grounds,
 “ as the good of that our kingdom did
 “ then require. But for many reasons too
 “ long for a letter, we think fit to require
 “ you to proceed no further in treaty
 “ with the rebels, nor to engage us upon
 “ conditions

“ conditions with them after fight hereof.
“ And having found such real proofs of
“ your ready obedience to our commands,
“ we doubt not of your care in this,
“ wherein our service, and the good of
“ our Protestant subjects in *Ireland* is so
“ much concerned. *Newcastle* the 11th
“ day of *June* 1646.

“ By his Majesty's command,

“ *Lanerick.*”

THESE orders being transmitted by the
English committee in *Ulster* were received
by the Lord Lieutenant on the 26th of
June *; but on the 4th of *July* the Lord
Digby returned to *Dublin* from *France* †
with an account, that the King had on
the 2d of *June* found means to send ad-
vice to *Paris*, “ that he had no possi-
“ bility left him, either of receiving any
“ knowledge of his own affairs, but as
“ his enemies should represent them, or
“ any advices from his faithful servants;
“ much less to express his pleasure to
“ them in any way, but what the *Scots*
“ should force from him: And that have-

P

“ ing

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 572.

† *Cox*, Vol. II. p. 165.

“ ing with much skill and difficulty ob-
 “ tained the secret means of expressing
 “ in short his sad condition, he thereupon
 “ declared his will and pleasure, that the
 “ Queen, the Prince, and all his faithful
 “ Ministers, to whom it was to be im-
 “ parted, were to understand this as the
 “ last free direction, which they could ex-
 “ pect from him; and that they should
 “ in all things pursue steadily those Or-
 “ ders, which he had given before the
 “ time of his unfree condition; and that
 “ in all things, wherein he had not gi-
 “ ven directions, while he judged himself
 “ free, the Prince his son should give from
 “ time to time such orders, as should be
 “ judged best for the advantage of his
 “ crown and interests, without being di-
 “ verted from it by any thing, which in
 “ his present restraint might be, either sur-
 “ reptitiously or violently, got from him:
 “ That particularly for the business of
 “ *Ireland*, he had, whilst he was free,
 “ sent positive and repeated orders to the
 “ Lord Lieutenant for concluding the
 “ peace, upon the terms expressed to him
 “ by his Excellency, since the mutual sign-
 “ ing

“ ing of the articles : That he had com-
 “ manded the Queen and Prince to give the
 “ Marquis of *Ormonde* assurances of their
 “ adhering firmly to him in the business
 “ of the Peace of *Ireland*, in what un-
 “ fortunate condition soever his person
 “ should continue : And that if there
 “ were a possibility for his Majesty by any
 “ art to gain the means of doing it, the
 “ Marquis should receive orders in his
 “ own hand conveyed unto him by the
 “ Queen for all this, and whatever else
 “ Lord *Digby* was commanded to signi-
 “ fy to him, as his Majesty’s Pleasure :
 “ That as the Great Seal of *England*
 “ was likely to fall into the hands of his
 “ enemies, he was to give no obedience
 “ to any thing under it concerning *Ireland*,
 “ nor thereupon interrupt his prosecution
 “ of the King’s service, unless he should
 “ receive from his Majesty’s own hand in
 “ cypher assurances, that the same was
 “ passed by warrant from him freely grant-
 “ ed, and upon his own free and uncon-
 “ strained judgment of what was fit for
 “ his service : That whatsoever the King
 “ should thus freely command, should be

“ sent either in cypher in his own hand,
 “ or else conveyed to him by the Queen
 “ and Prince of *Wales*; and whatsoever
 “ directions he should receive in any other
 “ way, he was not to consider them as
 “ his Majesty’s free commands, nor yield
 “ any further obedience to them, than
 “ such, as upon consideration of the mat-
 “ ter contained in them, the Lord Lieu-
 “ tenant should judge fit for his service to
 “ have done, with relation to any such
 “ commands *.”

THE Prince of *Wales* sent the Marquis
 of *Ormonde* from *Jersey* the assurances,
 which his Majesty had commanded him to
 give; and the Lord *Digby*, to satisfy the
 Council at *Dublin*, drew up and signed
 a declaration on the 28th of *July*, which
 was entered in the Council book, and in
 which he affirmed the King’s letter of the
 11th of *June* to be surreptitious, or forced
 from his Majesty, and took upon himself
 the whole matter to answer to his Majesty,
 as Secretary of State, with his life for this
 declaration of his will. This declaration

was

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 572, 573.

was followed by another the next day by the Lord Lieutenant, entered in the same manner, " that he was satisfied he had full " authority and command from his Majesty, to conclude the peace upon the " articles deposited with the Marquis of " *Clanricarde*, and took upon himself the " sole judging thereof, expecting only " the assistance of the Council, for causing " it to be duly observed *." And these declarations removed all the objections of the Council; upon which they proceeded to the conclusion of the peace, which was perfected on the 30th of *July*, and solemnly proclaimed at *Dublin*, and by *Preston*, General of the Confederate Catholics, in his camp, and ordered to be proclaimed in the other cities and corporations of the kingdom. But it met with great opposition in most places from the *Irish* †, tho' the Supreme Council, before their return from *Limerick* to *Kilkenny* on the 21st of *July*, took great pains with the Nuncio, to persuade him to consent to the peace ‡; the proclamation of which so highly dis-

P 3

pleased

* *Ibid.* p. 573, 574.† *Cox*, Vol. II. p. 165.‡ *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1244.

pleased him, that he called a Synod of the Clergy at *Waterford*, who in their first Session on the 6th of *August* agreed to advise the Supreme Council, and the cities, towns, castles, &c. of the Catholic Confederates, not to publish this peace, which they declared to be *impious, and most injurious to the faith of the Church, and to the Ecclesiastics, and even to all orders of Catholics in the kingdom*, since it referred the penal laws against them to *his Majesty's* gracious favour and further concessions *. Two days after, Mr. *Nicholas Plunket* and Mr. *Patrick Darcy* came to *Waterford*, by order of the Supreme Council, to satisfy the Clergy concerning the honourableness and advantage of the peace; and repeated to the Synod, what the Supreme Council had in *July* represented to the Nuncio, upon his going from *Limerick* to *Waterford*, in a paper, which contained a summary of the reasons for concluding the peace, in which it was observed †, that
tho'

* Ibid. fol. 1261—1290.

† “ In articulis modo promulgendis quamvis pauca
“ continentur, quæ satisfaciunt in rebus ad religionem
“ spectantibus,

tho' in the articles now to be published there were few things satisfactory with relation to religion, yet there is a reference in them to the King's *further Concessions*: That articles had been concluded between the Earl of *Glamorgan* and the Confederates, in which many Concessions had been made of great advantage to the Catholic Religion, which might justly be understood to be implied in the clause of the Lord Lieutenant's articles, referring to *his Majesty's further Concessions*, that Earl having a Commission from his Majesty, *the original of which, sign'd by the King's own hand, was deposited by the Earl with the Confederate Catholics*. That the King being in the hands of the *Scots*, there was no possibility of engaging him to make any

P 4

other

“spectantibus, in ipsis tamen est relatio ad ultiores
“Regis concessiones.

“Inter *Glamorganæ* Comitem & Confederateos
“intercesserunt articuli, quibus multa sunt concessa
“Religioni Catholicæ proficua, uti ex iisdem articulis fufius constat; & prudenti iudicio relatio
“in articulis Prorogis ad suæ Majestatis posteriores
“concessionem ita intelligi potest, ut comprehendat
“articulos cum *Glamorganæ* Comite transactos, qui
“a suâ Majestate mandatum habuit, cujus originale
“regiâ manu subscriptum *Glamorganæ* Comes deposuit
“apud Confederateos Catholicos.” Ibid. fol. 1292.

other Concessions, in point of religion for the present ; but that as his Majesty could have no other method of recovering his Crown, but by the Catholics and the foreign Princes, who were zealous for that religion, all just concessions in favour of it might be expected from him, when he should have it in *his power* to grant them : That those, who were employed by his Majesty, declared, that they had no intention to disturb the Catholics on account of the Churches or Church-revenues in their hands : That the Lord *Digby*, his Majesty's Secretary of State, as soon as the peace should be proclaimed, was ready to meet the Nuncio, where the latter should appoint him, and satisfy him upon the point of religion : And that with regard to the articles presented by Sir *Kenelm Digby* to the Pope, on the part of the Catholics of *England* and *Ireland*, his Lordship did not doubt, but that his Holiness would afford the King a subsidy of 100,000 *l.* *

THE

* * Paratus est obviam ire illustrissimo Domino
 " Nuncio, ubi jusserit, plurimaque illi dicet de rebus
 " ad

THE Clergy returned an answer to this paper on the 20th of *August*; but on the 12th they, together with the Nuncio, published a decree, declaring all persons, who adhered to the peace, guilty of a breach of their *oath of association*; and by another decree they excommunicated the Commissioners, and all who assisted in making the peace *.

AND on the 15th of that month the Archbishops of *Dublin* and *Cashel*, and Bishop of *Elphin* wrote, in the name of the Congregation of the Clergy, a letter to the Queen, in which they observe †, “ That the Earl
“ of *Glamorgan* was for this only reason
“ imprisoned, that being a Catholic, he
“ was carrying to the King such succours
“ of the Catholics, as might deserve his
“ Majesty’s favour to himself and the Ca-
“ tholics of *Ireland*. That the kingdom
“ being

“ ad religionem spectantibus, ut ipsi satisfiat; ac in-
“ super addit de actis & propositionibus a D. *Kenelm*
“ *Digbæo* suæ Sanctitati præsentandis ex parte Ca-
“ tholicorum tum *Angliæ* tum *Ibæniæ*, se minime
“ dubitare, quin Pontifex in usum Regis sit concessu-
“ rum centum millia librarum.

* Ibid. fol. 1309—1311.

† *Cox*, Vol. II. p. 190, 191.

" being cleared of the *common enemy* by
 " the Catholics, which we suppose may
 " be easily done this summer, we may all,
 " *say they*, unanimously go to assist the
 " King. We dislike the peace, because
 " all things are referred to the pleasure
 " of the King, *which we would readily*
 " *submit to, if he were not environed on*
 " *all sides with the enemies of our reli-*
 " *gion, and at such a distance from your*
 " *Majesty*; and in the mean time the
 " armies, garrisons, and the whole jurif-
 " diction of the Confederates, even the
 " Supreme Council itself, are subjected to
 " the sole authority and dominion of the
 " Marquis of *Ormonde*, a Protestant Vice-
 " roy. But we have no small hopes and
 " confidence in your Majesty's gracious
 " and effectual intercession with the Pope,
 " that bounds being set to the Protestants,
 " within which their arms and govern-
 " ment may be confined, they may not
 " disturb the Catholic Religion, the
 " Churches, nor ecclesiastical persons or
 " things."

ABOUT

ABOUT this time the Earl of *Glamorgan* presented the following propositions to the Clergy :

“ I. THAT the money due to the Nuncio being paid, I may receive five hundred pounds *sterling*, upon an engagement given to repay the money in six months time. This being done to-day, I will endeavour in eight days, God willing, to embark; and in the space of three months I can venture to promise, that I will collect about fifty thousand pounds *sterling*, which I will bring hither, and employ it in the first place, as there shall be occasion, for the establishment of this kingdom, upon condition, that in the articles we shall agree upon for procuring concessions from the King, you engage to furnish his Majesty with ten thousand men. I will likewise go to *Rome*, and inform his Holiness concerning the state of this kingdom, and the virtue and merit of the most illustrious Nuncio, that the highest honour may be conferred upon him, and those emoluments obtained, which may conduce to the service of this kingdom
and

and *England*. I will accomplish this with all possible expedition, and omit no testimony of my gratitude to this kingdom, upon which, as a foundation, I build all my hopes of assisting the King.

II. THAT the treaty be published, that it may appear to the world, that the Clergy do not regard their own interest, but the security of religion, and the privileges of the kingdom; and that they have no intention of depriving the Laity of their rights; and that affairs may be settled upon such a foot, that they may assume their own character, and undertake the cause of the King, religion, and their country.

III. THAT the most illustrious Nuncio, and most reverend Clergy, immediately adjoin to themselves some laymen eminent for their rank and integrity, and proper for the management of affairs of war and law, and public business; and such, with submission to better judgments, appear to me the Lord *Louth*, Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*,

ket, Thomas Esmond, and Tirlogh O Neile.

THO' the most illustrious Nuncio will not, according to his singular prudence, appear publicly, till open violence is used on the other side; yet in the mean while it will be proper to furnish some money and warlike stores, in order to encourage some persons, and enable them privately to seize the fortified places, and to join others to themselves. For which purpose, the fittest persons, who now occur to me, are *Dermot O Brian* in *Thomond*, *Mac Thomas* in *Tiperary*, and *General Birne* in *Leinster*. *Conaught* and *Ulster* are sufficiently taken care of by the two armies and their generals there. And with regard to the seizing of the rock of *Cashel*, (which is a point of the utmost importance) I have a scheme for reducing it in two days, if I am but allowed an hundred pounds *sterling*, and four or five barrells of gun-powder.

ON the 16th of *August* the congregation of the Clergy broke up, having the
day

day before appointed eight of their number, all of whom, or at least five of them, were to attend the Nuncio, to consider of the affairs of the Church. Accordingly on the 17th, the Nuncio and Clergy published an excommunication against all those cities and towns, which should admit the publication of the peace; and on the 24th, they sent the following declaration to the Supreme Council *.

I. THAT the Earl of Glamorgan's articles, *grounded upon the King's authority*, be printed, and made as firm and obliging, as the present peace. That the Confederates do oblige themselves by union, oath, and otherwise, to insist upon the same articles, and them to maintain, till confirmed (with the present peace) next Parliament. And whereas it appears by his Majesty's letters taken at Naseby, that Ormonde had power to repeal the penal laws, and suspend Poyning's act, the Confederates expect the benefit thereof to be added

* *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1315—1324.

added to the articles of peace; and that those letters be made public.

II. THAT the Generals of *Ulster* and *Leinster* be made General of the horse, and Major-General of the Field; and all other Catholic Officers continued, if not advanced.

III. THAT no garrison be added, nor tax imposed upon them, till Parliament, without consent of some or one of the Commissioners of the interval to see equality.

IV. THAT the seventh article of the peace be changed, as touching Universities; and that the institution and discipline of them be Catholic.

V. THAT in all places to be recovered from the Parliament, *Roman Catholics* be restored to estates, privileges, &c. and that the *free exercise* of their religion be secured to them, and all other Catholics, that shall please to dwell there.

AND

AND if the Supreme Council do not approve of these propositions, then let them do one of these things, *viz.* that the civil and military power within their own quarters remain in the hands of the Catholic Confederates, and in their disposition, in the same state and independency, as before the peace, until his Majesty be at full liberty, and till his and the Pope's pleasure with respect to religion be known: And that in the mean time the Catholic Confederates, and the Protestants of the King's party, continue the war against the enemies of their King and country, and prosecute their victories, by God's assistance; or else, that a General Assembly be immediately called, the members of which may honestly determine upon admitting or rejecting the above-mentioned peace.

To this declaration the Supreme Council did not return any answer immediately, but sent a petition to the Clergy, desiring them to recall their excommunication; together with two letters, one of the

the 24th and the other of the 25th of *August*, acknowledging, that they had received the Declaration, but observing, that they deferred their answer till the arrival of the Marquis of *Ormonde* at *Kilkenny* from *Dublin*, and the return of *Nicholas Plunket* and *Patrick Darcy* from *Waterford*. Upon the receipt of this petition, the Clergy wrote to the Council, that they would return no answer to it, till they should receive the Council's answer to their declaration, and the propositions inclosed in it; which answer they desired might be hastened, to prevent further inconveniences. In the mean time, finding, that the Council and their party were endeavouring to promote the peace every where, and demanding taxes, notwithstanding the Decrees of the Clergy to the contrary, and employing soldiers to collect those taxes; the Clergy on the 26th of *August* declared, that it was lawful to repel force by force, because those taxes were, as they alledged, collected for the use, not so much of the Catholics, as of the Marquis of *Ormonde* and other Protestants, to whom the Supreme Coun-

cil had opened a way for seizing the government of that island. The Clergy likewise excommunicated all persons, who should either receive or pay any taxes, and all soldiers, who should offer to put in execution the orders of the Supreme Council, for the raising the said taxes. And on the 1st of *September*, they ordered all Bishops and Clergy, both secular and regular, to publish an excommunication against all, who should adhere to, or favour the peace *. The next day, viz. *September* 2d, the Supreme Council sent letters to the Clergy at *Waterford*, desiring, that two Prelates might be sent to *Kilkenny*, to treat of the propositions of the Clergy of the 24th of *August*: But this being refused, the Council deputed Mr. *Luke Dillon*, *Tyrrel*, *Doudal*, and *Fenell*, to treat with the Clergy about the terms of a composition; and these presented the following answer from the Council, to the said propositions of the Clergy: Which answer was drawn up by the Marquis of *Ormonde's* party in the Council, and dated the 10th of *September* †.

“ To

* Ibid. fol. 1325—1329.

† Ibid. fol. 1339—1343.

" To the *first*; That they will print
 " and publish *Glamorgan's Articles*, and
 " insist on them as being *obligatory on the*
 " *King*, and get them confirmed the next
 " Parliament; and no interruption shall
 " be given them in the mean time. That
 " the repeal of the Penal Laws was pur-
 " posely omitted in the peace, as being less
 " than *Glamorgan's concessions*, and there-
 " fore might derogate from them; and
 " the suspension of *Poyning's act* was by
 " unanimous consent omitted for saving
 " of time.

" To the *second*; That they shall be
 " sufficiently provided for.

" To the *third*; No constant garrisons
 " shall be put into Corporations, &c. nor
 " Levies made but for public service, and
 " proportionably to the rest of the Coun-
 " try, and some of the members of the
 " Corporation shall be privy thereunto.

" To the *fourth*; It is implied; else
 " how can they be for the use of the Ca-

“ tholic youth, if the discipline be not
 “ Catholic?

“ To the *fifth*, It is done already; and
 “ if not, shall be taken care of.

“ AND you shall have security to have
 “ the penal laws repealed the next Par-
 “ liament, and shall not be molested in
 “ your religion or ecclesiastical possessions
 “ till then.”

THE Clergy had about the end of *August*
 deputed *Dennis Massari*, Dean of *Fermo*;
 and Auditor to the Nunciature, to go to
Rome, and represent to the Pope the
 state of their affairs, and to desire his as-
 sistance. The Dean accordingly set sail
 on the 31st of that Month, and landing at
Nantz, went thence to *Rochelle*; whence,
 on the 21st of *September*, he wrote to
 the Nuncio, acquainting him *, that be-
 tween

* “ Inter *Nannetensem & Rupellam* me comitatus
 “ est nobilis ille, qui ab *Angliæ* Reginâ missus bis
 “ *Parisiis* D. V. illustrissimam allocuturus convenerat.
 “ Itineri autem se accingit cum ejusdem Majestatis
 “ literis, omnibus propriâ ejus manu scriptis, unis
 “ ad illustrissimam D. V. alteris ad Marchionem *Or-*
monia,

tween these two towns he was accompanied by Sir *Dudley Wyat*, who had been twice sent

“ *monia*, & tertiis ad D. Comitem *Glamorgania*,
 “ circa res *Ibernicas*. Dixitque mihi hic nobilis vir,
 “ velle suam Majestatem, ut res ad justam mensuram
 “ redigantur omnino in D. V. illustrissimæ satisfactio-
 “ nem; unde ego varias ob rationes supra modum
 “ lætitiâ affectus sum. Sed D. V. illustrissimam ad-
 “ monitam velim, ne quæ primo proposita fuerint,
 “ admittenda curet, nam semper cum aliquali reniten-
 “ tiâ obtinebuntur meliora.

1. “ Offeritur primo, ut omnia propugnacula, &
 “ ullius momenti loca, sint absolutè penes Catholicos
 “ *Ibernos*, idque citra dependentiam à Prorege, quam-
 “ diu provinciam illam obibit *Ormonius*.

2. “ Ut in Regis honorem ejus Prorex sit exerci-
 “ tum *Iberniæ* Præfectus generalis, idque ita *solo no-*
 “ *mine*, ut *de facto* Præfecti generalis Catholici in
 “ suas quisque copias absolutum exerceat imperium.

3. “ Ut Proregi suppetant exercitus aliæ copiæ mi-
 “ litares, quibus ipse præsit.

4. “ Ut religio & ecclesia in eo statu, quo in territo-
 “ riis & civitatibus, quæ à Catholicis possidentur, nunc
 “ sunt, cum libero exercitio Catholicæ religionis
 “ privativè, quod alia, persistant, usquedum convoca-
 “ tum fuerit liberum regni *Iberniæ* Parlamentum, in
 “ quo stabiliendus erit modus & forma, quoad hoc
 “ toto regno observanda.

5. “ Ut Parlamentum illud mense *Novembri* vel
 “ certè *Decembri* celebretur.

“ Denique mihi dixit in omnibus satisfactum iri,
 “ quoad ejus fieri potest, D. V. illustrissimæ. Hoc
 “ totum ex ipso erui maximâ dexteritate; quare D. V.
 “ illustrissima ostendat horum se nihil prorsus didi-
 “ cisse.

“ Verissimum est *Angliæ* Reginam subiisse gravissi-
 “ mas adversus D. V. illustrissimam suspiciones ob multa

sent by the Queen at *Paris* to speak with the Nuncio, and was now preparing for a voyage with letters from her Majesty, all written with her own hand, one to the Nuncio,

“ mala Baronis *Digbæi*, aliorumque malignorum Hæreticorum, officia; sed suæ Majestati (credo) obiectum fuerit per alios præstetur, sibi autem procuret vertendum honori quicquid in hoc negotio concessum fuerit ad concordiam & pacem.

“ Sed si D. V. illustrissima ad aliquod tempus valeat negotium suspendere, nullo id modo non procuret. Nam erui etiam ex ipso D. *Digbæum* (equitem) *Romam* remigrasse, quo conventioni ultimam admoveat manum in suæ Sanctitatis satisfactionem; futurumque spero, ut quantocius isthuc acta transmittantur cum negotii conclusione.

“ Oblitus fui superius addere, quod, sub titulo consulendo Regis æstimationi, cogitatur de continuando Marchione *Ormonia* in regni regimine sub prætextu provinciae benè & fideliter tractatæ, & quasi sua omnia perdiderit. Si constanter insisteretur obtinendo in Proregem Catholico, crediderim impetrandum; sicut non dubito articulum illum in conventionibus *Romæ* absolvendis stabiliendum.

“ Hic vir nobilis affirmat Equitem *Digbæum* ad D. V. illustrissimam vel scripsisse, vel scribere decrevisse, sed eam nonnullos fuisse malignitate, ut literæ vel fuerint interceptæ, vel perditæ ne transmittarentur.

“ Hæc *Massarius* ex quibus colligere est pacem Pontificiam, de qua superius egimus, Hæreticorum malignitate fuisse præfocata, & non *stetisse per Regem*, nedum per Reginam, quod minus bonæ Catholicis condiciones concederentur, sed eorundem Hæreticorum versutiâ rem semper ad nihilum recidisse; quod etiam in hac ipsâ legatione, de qua hic mentio fit, contigerit.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol.

Nuncio, another to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and a third to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, about the affairs of *Ireland*. This Gentleman told the Dean, that the Queen was desirous, that things might be settled absolutely to the satisfaction of the Nuncio, who was advised by the Dean not to accept of the first proposals, since better terms are always obtained after some little resistance. The offers were as follow :

THAT all the forts and places of any consequence be put absolutely into the hands of the *Irish* Catholics, and that without any dependance on the Lord Lieutenant, as long as the Marquis of *Ormonde* shall hold that post. That out of respect to the King, his Lord Lieutenant be General of the armies, but that only *in name*; so that *in fact* the Catholic Generals shall have an absolute command each over their own army. That Religion and the Church shall continue in the same state, in which they are in the territories and cities possessed by the Catholics, with a free exercise of the Catholic Religion, till a free Parliament of the kingdom of *Ireland*

shall be called, in which the method and form to be observed in that respect shall be established; and that this Parliament meet in *November* or *December*. Sir *Dudley* likewise assured the Dean, that all possible satisfaction should be given to the Nuncio in every thing. The Dean took notice that the Queen had entertained strong suspicions of the Nuncio, thro' the suggestions of the Lord *Digby* and other *Protestants*. He advised him to suspend the business of the peace for some time, if it could be done, since he had found by Sir *Dudley Wyat*, that Sir *Kenelm Digby* was returned to *Rome*, to put the last hand to that treaty, to the Pope's satisfaction; and he was in hopes, that the instruments of the conclusion of that affair would be soon transmitted thither. Sir *Dudley* also assured the Dean, that Sir *Kenelm* had written or designed to write to the Nuncio; but by the malice of some persons the letters had been intercepted. The Dean concluded his Letter with remarking, that the reason of continuing the Marquis of *Ormonde* in the government, was to save the King's honour, upon the pretence of the

the Marquis's having discharged his post with fidelity, and lost in a manner all his fortune. But that if this was strongly opposed, and a Catholic Lord Lieutenant insisted upon; that point, the Dean thought, might be obtained, as he did not doubt that this article was settled in the treaty to be concluded at *Rome* *.

FROM this letter of the Dean of *Fermo*, the writer of the *Nuncio's Memoirs* † concludes, that the Pope's peace above-mentioned was suppressed by the management of the Protestant party; and that the granting of good terms to the Catholics did not at all stick with the King, much less with the Queen, but was always defeated by the artifice of those Protestants.

THE Dean arriving at *Rome* on the 4th of *November*, had an audience of the Pope on the 7th and 15th; and having communicated to him the account, which he had received from *Ireland* of the Marquis of *Ormonde's* being refused entrance into

* Ibid. fol. 1347—1357.

† Fol. 1357.

into *Clonmel*, *Cashel*, and *Kilkenny*, and the breaking up of the Supreme Council, and the successes of the Clergy and their party; his Holiness on the 11th of *December* assembled several of the Cardinals, together with the Dean and Father *Luke Wadding*; and it was resolved to send a very considerable subsidy to *Ireland* by the Dean, who immediately wrote to the Nuncio to send his own and the Marquis of *Antrim's* Frigats to *Rockelle*, that he might bring in them above 60000 Crowns granted by the Pope *.

SIR *Kenelm Digby* had been, as was already observed, sent a second time to *Rome* by the Queen; but before he went thither, he wrote, † that the Pope's treaty had

* Ibid. 1359.

† “ *K. Digbæus*, post regressum *Româ Parisios*, iterum
 “ *Parisius* à *Reginâ* secundo missus hac ætate *Romam* re-
 “ diit. Ante verò quam profectus esset *Romam*, literis
 “ indicavit tractatum Pontificium fuisse Nuncio confir-
 “ matum a *Glamorgano* *Regiâ* auctoritate nixo; quod
 “ quomodo factum fuerit, alibi diximus. *Romam* etiam
 “ appulsus, eam (credo) ob rationem strenuè sustine-
 “ bat pacem in *Iberniâ* initam continuisse omnes à suâ
 “ Sanctitate petitas antea conditiones. Ex quibus col-
 “ ligo transactiones inter Nuncium & *Glamorganum* eâ
 “ super re secretò factas, *Regi*, *Reginæ*, proindeque
 “ *Digbæo*

had been confirmed by the Earl of *Glamorgan* by the King's authority; for which reason,

“ *Digbæo* innotuisse. Sed quo pacto contra ac Nuncius vellet, conventiones illæ enervatæ fuerint, superius retulimus.

“ Cum autem *Kenelmo Digbæo* Equiti Catholico, & *Georgio Digbæo* tunc Baroni Hæretico, inter se optime convenerit, & ambo hâc æstate consilia mutuò communicârint, denique *Georgius* in *Iberniam*, & *Kenelmus* *Romam* redierit; quid *Kenelmus* in hac secundâ expeditione *Romanâ* obeundum suscepit, conspectare licet ex iis, quæ *Georgius* in *Iberniam* regressus concilio supremo communicavit, & concilium quodam scripto *Anglicano* intexuit, quod Nuncio *Limerici* præsentavit, deindeque per suos agentes *Waterfordiæ* inter suas cum clero disceptationes repetiit, nosque ibidem Latine retulimus, ubi sic habetur. *D. Digbæus* suæ Majestatis *Archi-secretarius* à pacificatione promulgatâ paratus est obviam ire illustrissimo *D. Nuncio*, ubi jusserit, plurimaque illi dicet de rebus ad religionem spectantibus, ut ipsi satisfiet. Ac insuper addit de actis & propositionibus *D. Kenelmo Digbæo* suæ Sanctitati præsentandis ex parte Catholicorum tum *Angliæ* tum *Ibæniæ*, se minimè dubitare, quin Pontifex in usum Regis sit concessurus centum millia librarum. In concilii quoque commissariorum supplicatione clero *Waterfordiam* missâ mense *Augusto* videris, ubi de pacis *Ormonicæ* articulis loquitur, hæc contineri verba: In iisdem (inquiunt) articulis cautum est, ut *Confœderati Catholici prædicti* potiantur, & potiri debeant, omnibus ulterioribus & amplioribus gratiis & concessionibus dicti serenissimi *D. Regis*; quas gratias & concessiones prædicti *Confœderati* partim ante habuerunt, & etiamnum habent ex compositione, & contractu factis inter ipsos & illustrissimum dominum *Comitem de Glamorgan*, virtute commissionis Regiæ ad eundem effectum emanatæ, aliasque mediatione Summi Pontificis & aliorum Principum Christianorum indies expectant.

“ Hæc

reason, when he arrived at Rome, he strongly asserted, that the peace concluded in

“ Hæc ibi. *Kenelmo* ergo *Digbæo* Romam redeunti
 “ mens fuit persuadere summo Pontifici pacem in
 “ *Iberniâ* conclusam (si reciperetur) continuïsse tracta-
 “ tus Pontificis articulos ; idque ut suppetias numma-
 “ rias Regi tractatu jam dicto promissas à Pontifice ob-
 “ tineret. Cum autem Nuncium paci *Ormonica* obvi-
 “ am ivisse didicisset, partium *Ormonicarum* patronum
 “ egit. Unde *Massarius* cyphris Romæ 10 Novemb.
 “ ad Nuncium Italicè scribens, *Digbæus*, inquit, qui
 “ hic est, in *D. V.* illustrissimam multum operatur,
 “ verum tantum abest, ut ullatenus profecerit, ut eti-
 “ am ipse fide & reputatione exciderit, quod innotu-
 “ erit ipsum esse malignum & mendacem. Hæc ille ;
 “ & hanc quoque *Kenelmi Digbæi* in Nuncium agendi
 “ mentem liquet non latuisse alterum *Digbæum*, qui
 “ in *Ibernia*, quo Nuncii fidem apud clerum popu-
 “ lumque labefactaret, in vulgus sparsit, ipsum, Re-
 “ ginâ postulante, propediem à suâ Sanctitate revocan-
 “ dum, velut qui provinciam sibi impositam malè
 “ tractavit. Sed *Cardinalis Pamphilius* 4 Novem. ex
 “ urbe ad Nuncium cyphris Italicè scribens, Non est
 “ (inquit) cur sollicita sit *D. V.* de iis, quæ contra
 “ ipsam istic publicat *D. Digbæus*, cum non lateat
 “ suam Sanctitatem nec veritas facti, nec vestra recta
 “ intentio. Hæc *Pamphilius*. *Kenelmus* ergo *Digbæus*,
 “ qui Romæ causam agebat, animadvertens, quod in
 “ prioribus illis machinis adhibendis nihil proficeret,
 “ auditoque *Ormonium* & *Ormonistas* apud *Iberniam*
 “ clero & fautoribus in pacis negotio succubuisse, usque
 “ adeo destitit, & suggestum tormentarium alio tran-
 “ stulit, ut *Massarius* Romæ ad Nuncium 24 Novem.
 “ cyphris hæc Italicè scripserit, *Digbæus* tractandi &
 “ dicendi modum mutavit, & malè loquitur de *Ormonio*.
 “ Et hæc quidem sunt quæ circa *Massarii* & *Digbæi*
 “ legationes in urbem mihi occurrunt, exceptis, quæ
 “ ad annum subsequentem pertinent, suo ordine re-
 “ censendæ.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1360—1362.

in *Ireland* contained all the conditions demanded before by the Pope : Whence the writer of the Nuncio's *Memoirs* * concludes, that the transactions between the Earl of *Glamorgan* and the Nuncio, with relation to that affair, were known to the King and Queen, and Sir *Kenelm Digby*. And as Sir *Kenelm* and the Lord *Digby* were most intimate friends, and communicated their designs to each other this summer, and the latter afterwards returned to *Ireland*, as the former did to *Rome*, what Sir *Kenelm*'s business was in that city may be conjectured from what has been already mentioned of Lord *Digby*'s having assured the Supreme Council, that he was ready, upon the proclamation of the peace, to meet the Nuncio, and satisfy him with regard to religion ; and that with respect to the articles to be presented to the Pope by Sir *Kenelm Digby* on the part of the Catholics of *England* and *Ireland*, he did not doubt but that the Pope would grant the King a subsidy of an hundred thousand pounds.

AND

AND in the *petition* of the Commissioners of the Council sent to the Clergy at *Waterford* in *August*, we find the following words with relation to the articles of the Marquis of *Ormonde's* peace: " In
 " the same articles it is provided, that
 " the Catholic Confederates *be referred*
 " to his Majesty's gracious favour and
 " further concessions, and that no clause
 " in these articles shall or may binder
 " them, or any of them, from the bene-
 " fit of his Majesty's further graces and
 " concessions: Which graces and con-
 " cessions the said Catholics had partly
 " before, and now have by the agreement
 " and contract made between them and the
 " Earl of *Glamorgan*, by virtue of the King's
 " commission to that effect; and they daily
 " expect other concessions by the mediation
 " of the Pope and other Christian princes.
 Sir *Kenelm Digby's* design at his return to
Rome was to persuade the Pope, that the
 peace concluded in *Ireland* contained the
 articles of his Holiness's treaty; and this
 he did with a view to obtain the sub-
 sidy

fidy of money promised the King by the
 Pope in that treaty. But finding, that the
 Nuncio opposed the Marquis of *Ormonde's*
 peace, he espoused the Marquis's party;
 so that the Dean of *Fermo* wrote from
Rome to the Nuncio in cypher on the
 10th of *November* as follows; " Sir
 " *Kenelm Digby*, who is here, works
 " very zealously against your Lordship
 " here; but he is so far from succeeding
 " in any respect, that he has lost his re-
 " putation, it being discovered that he is
 " malicious, and a great liar." It is
 evident likewise, that the Lord *Digby* was
 no stranger to Sir *Kenelm's* attempts to
 undermine the Nuncio; for his Lord-
 ship, in order to destroy the Nuncio's
 credit with the clergy and people in *Ire-*
land, spread it about every where, that he
 would be immediately recalled by the Pope,
 at the Queen's desire, as having ill exe-
 cuted the employment committed to him.
 But Cardinal *Pamphilio* in a letter written
 to the Nuncio from *Rome*, on the 4th
 of *November*, assured him, " That he
 " needed not be solicitous about what
 " was spread about in *Ireland* against him
 " by

“ by the Lord *Digby*, since his Holiness
 “ was perfectly well acquainted with the
 “ truth of the fact, and his (the Nuncio’s)
 “ right intentions.” However, Sir *Kenelm
 Digby* perceiving afterwards that his ar-
 tifices were ineffectual, and hearing that
 the Marquis of *Ormonde* and his party
 in *Ireland* were obliged to give way to
 the clergy and their party in point of the
 peace, he quite changed his manner of act-
 ing and talking, and began to speak ill
 of the Marquis of *Ormonde*, as the Dean
 of *Fermo* wrote to the Nuncio from *Rome*
 on the 26th of *November* *.

THE zeal of the Clergy at *Waterford*
 had not so far intimidated the Supreme
 Council, but that they invited the Mar-
 quis of *Ormonde* to *Kilkenny*; where his
 Lordship arrived on the 31st of *August*
 with a considerable body of horse and foot,
 and was received with all imaginable joy
 and respect. But meeting with a very dif-
 ferent reception in some other places, and
 being informed of a design of *Owen Roe
 O Neile* to surprize him, he returned on the

13th
 * Ibid. fol. 1361, 1362.

13th of *September* to *Dublin* *; and his Party in the Supreme Council, who had declared for the peace, having no longer any expectations of support from him, the Nuncio was invited back to *Kilkenny*, into which city he made his public entry on the 18th of *September*, being received there with all the pomp of a triumph; and the same day the peace was solemnly repealed †. The Congregation immediately resolved, that those who had been the authors or favourers of the peace should be imprisoned, as guilty of treason against God and the King; against the former, in not making any provision for their religion, according to their oath of association; and against the latter, because the articles of the peace did not preserve a due obedience to the King. The city gates being therefore shut on the 21st, Mr. *Bellings*, Secretary of the Supreme Council, and four others, being sent for by the Council of War, were the next day committed to the Castle of *Kilkenny*, as four more were likewise on the 24th; the Lord *Mus-*

R

kerry,

* *Cox*, Vol. II. p. 169, 170. and *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 579—582.

† *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1344, and 1367.

Kerry, who had returned the evening before from *Waterford*, being confined to his House *. A new Council was likewise appointed for the government of the kingdom, consisting of the Nuncio, President, the Archbishop of *Cashel*, the Bishops of *Clonsfert*, *Clogher*, and *Fernes*, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Lord *Louth*; *Alexander Mac-Donel*, Esq; Sir *Robert Lynch*, Knight and Baronet, *Daniel O Sullivan* of *Bennes*, Esq; *Peter Butler*, Esq; &c.

BUT the person, who had the great ascendancy with the Nuncio, was the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who was made by him General of *Munster*, in which post he was confirmed by the Assembly of the Province; and certainly deserved the highest regard from the Nuncio, on account of the great confidence which the King placed in his Lordship, with whom, as *Vittorio Siri* observes †, his Majesty kept a secret correspondence; for we find one letter of his Majesty's to him of the 5th of *April* 1646, tho' his

* Ibid. fol. 1369, 1370.

† *Il Re, che in segreto se la intendeva con esso. Mercurio*, Vol. VIII. p. 61.

his Lordship did not receive it till *July* following; Mr. *Walsingham**, who had orders to deliver it into his Lordship's own hands, having been detained above two months at *Dublin* by the Marquis of *Ormonde*.

THE letter was as follows † :

“ *Glamorgan*,

“ I Neither have time to spare, nor do
 “ you desire, that I should repeat to
 “ you unnecessarily those things which I
 R 2 “ have

* Mr. *Cox*, Part II. p. 155, tells us, “ That on the 8th of *July*, 1646, his Majesty, by Mr. *Walsingham*, sent the Earl of *Glamorgan* a most kind and gracious letter, containing great assurances both of favour and friendship.” But he seems to be mistaken in the date of that letter. Mr. *Walsingham* is represented, in a letter from Sir *Edward Nicholas* to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, dated at *Carmarthen*, Feb. 1st, 1646, and published in Mr. *Carte's Collection of Original Letters*, &c. found among the Duke of *Ormonde's* papers, Vol. I. p. 206, as Lord *Digby's* intimate servant, then dispatched to *Ireland* by that Lord with instructions and orders from the Queen to the Marquis, to this effect, “ That since the Rebels in *England* do now apparently proceed with much wickedness and violence to destroy the King's person, her Majesty would not, that your Lordship should stand so strictly with the Irish Catholics upon so strict conditions in matters of Religion, as (it seems) your instructions from the King bear.”

† *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1237, 1238.

" have so often said to you. I refer you
 " therefore to *Digby* for what is to be
 " done ; and assure you of *my constant*
 " *friendship for you*, which I think the
 " more necessary in this *universal de-*
 " *fection of every body*. But however that
 " be, I am persuaded, that you cannot
 " doubt but that I will *perform* all the
 " *instructions and promises* made to you
 " and the Nuncio.

" *Your most undoubted*

" *and constant Friend,*

" Charles R.

THE subscription was in cypher. But
 the most remarkable letter of the King
 to him was written wholly in cypher on
 the 20th of *July* the same year, which is
 inserted in *Latin* in the Nuncio's *Me-*
moires *, and in *Italian* in *Vittorio Siri's*
Mercurio †.

" *Glamorgan,*

" I AM not so strictly guarded, but that
 " if you send to me a prudent and
 " secret

* Fol. 1373.

† Vol. VIII. p. 97, 98.

" secret person, I can receive a letter, and
 " you may signify to me your mind, I
 " having always *loved your person and con-*
 " *versation*, which I ardently wish for at
 " present more than ever, if it could be
 " had without prejudice to you, whose
 " safety is as dear to me as my own. If
 " you can *raise a large sum* of Money
 " by *pawning my kingdoms* * for that pur-
 " pose, I am content you should do it;
 " and if I recover them, I will fully
 " repay that money. And tell the Nun-
 " cio, that if once *I can come into his*
 " *and your hands*, which ought to be ex-
 " tremely wished for by you both, as well
 " for the sake of England as Ireland,
 " since all the rest, as I see, *despise me*,
 " *I will do it*. And if I do not say this
 " from my heart, or if in any future time
 " I fail you in this, may God never re-
 " store me to my kingdoms in this
 " world, nor give me eternal happiness
 " in the next, to which I hope this tri-
 " bulation will conduct me at last, after
 " I have satisfied my obligations to my
 R 3 " friends,

* See the King's Commission of April 1st, 1644,
 p. 25.

" friends, to none of whom am I so
" much obliged as to yourself, whose
" merits towards me exceed all expref-
" sions, that can be used by

" *Your constant Friend,*

" Charles R.

From *Newcastle*, July 20, 1646.

A copy of this letter was, soon after the receipt of it, sent from *Ireland* to the Pope, who received great comfort from the reading of it; but at the same time shed tears of compassion for the King's circumstances, as the Dean of *Fermo* wrote, four days after his arrival at *Rome*, viz. Nov. 8th, to the Cavalier *Rinuccini*, the Nuncio's Brother, at *Florence*, to whom he inclosed a copy of that letter *.

THE Earl of *Glamorgan*, upon receiving the King's letter, drew up, by the advice and with the assistance of the Nuncio, a paper in *Latin*, containing reasons for inviting his Majesty into *Ireland*, according to his desire; which reasons were as follow †.

I. THE

* Ibid. fol. 1373.

† Ibid. fol. 1373.

I. THE peace being proclaimed by the Marquis of *Ormonde*, your Majesty may openly receive this kingdom upon the same foot as your two other kingdoms.

II. YOUR Majesty will then discern, how little your interest is regarded by the Marquis of *Ormonde* and the Lord *Digby*; and by your presence prevent the inconveniencies that may arise, and gain the affection of this nation to yourself, to whom it is really and solely due, and engage the whole force of it to be absolutely at your disposal; and thus not only recover one kingdom to yourself, but by that means open a way to the recovery of the other two.

III. YOUR Majesty, by committing yourself to the Faith of the Catholics, will procure the Assistance of all the Catholic Princes, and especially of the Pope, whose Nuncio in this kingdom is most devoted to your Majesty; who ought to consider, that no Catholic Prince besides the Pope has only the safety of your Majesty in

view; for the rest may have likewise other designs well enough known to your Majesty. And as, before the Declaration published by your Majesty, I could certainly have procured 40000 Crowns for your use, so I am persuaded, that I can procure three times as much if your Majesty will come hither. You will then *really be a King*, and not have your hands tied, nor be forced to any thing against your will, but enjoy all the power of a King, and be defended by the fidelity and power of those, who will pay you all obedience, and lay down their lives for your Majesty.

1st Objection. THE Protestants will all revolt, if your Majesty shall follow this Advice.

Answer 1. THOSE Protestants only are to be regarded, who wish for the safety of your Majesty, and the establishment of your government: And they will perceive, that your Majesty will be secure here, and have it in your power to return; with which they must be very highly pleased. 2. The Protestants see, that the

the sole design of the *Puritans* is to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and to deprive your Majesty of your crown; whereas the Catholics expect only a toleration of their Religion, as a reward for their fidelity and obedience. 3. Those, who wish well to your Majesty in *England*, cannot discover their inclinations, unless they perceive, that your Majesty has some security, upon which they may depend. 4. Since the kingdom of *England* is possessed so universally by the enemy, no troops can be raised, nor any sufficient sum of money collected here by any means. But by pursuing the present Scheme your Majesty will be supplied with both, and have no less than twenty thousand men under your command.

2d Objection. YOUR Majesty's departure can be neither safe nor private.

Answer. IF your Majesty will resolve to come hither, I will hazard my life to find out a way for it; so necessary do I think this to your Majesty's safety. But if what I shall propose, shall not be deemed absolutely

absolutely certain or secure, I shall be very far from pressing it. But in this point I refer myself entirely to your Majesty's judgment. Nor can I propose any scheme, till I understand in what situation your Majesty is, and what the present circumstances shall make necessary. I expect a few words from your Majesty upon this point, whether you are willing that I should still assist you, and to give me a full power to pursue my endeavours, *without impediment*, or the being liable to the *fraudulent practices* of those, who pretend to be attached to your Majesty, and to whose machinations against me your Majesty knows me to have been exposed in *England*; and that after my arrival in this kingdom I suffered ten times more, I can appeal to your Majesty. Notwithstanding this, I cannot desist from testifying my zeal for the service of your Majesty; and I do not despair, that your Majesty will find by experience, who ought to be trusted; nor can I persuade myself, that a Prince adorned with so many virtues, and so clear from all vice, should be doomed by God for destruction. And
my

my affection and duty is such, that I cannot but regard your Majesty's safety, without calling to mind *past injuries*, or considering the dangers I have undergone, or the money I have expended, since I do not think, that what I have suffered *arose from your Majesty*, or was *willingly permitted by you* *. Besides I could never be delighted in any fortune of mine, while I saw your Majesty oppressed and in distress. But if it shall please God that I can see your Majesty restored, I shall esteem it equal to all the riches in the world.

WHAT was the progress of this correspondence between the King and the Earl, does not appear †; but it is certain he

* “*Meusque amor, & officii ea ratio est, ut Majestatis vestræ saluti prospiciam, neque memor esse possim injuriarum præteritarum, neque periculorum, neque pecuniæ expensæ; cum quæ passus sum, non à Majestate vestrà orta, neque sponte permissa existimem.*” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1375.

† “*Quis hujus commercii epistolæ fuerit ulterior progressus, me latet; experientia tamen loquitur Regem ab hæreticis velut in captivitatem reductum in Iberniam ad Nuncium & Glamorganum non se recipisse. Magna autem illa pacis in Iberniam proscriptæ, & regiminis novi vicissitudo, nec non auctoritas antea Glamorgano a rege concessa, & literis Nuncio atque ipsi demonstrata ejusdem*
“*Regis*

he was so strictly guarded, that he never found an opportunity of escaping to *Ireland* to his Lordship, and the Nuncio. However, the great turn of affairs in that kingdom, by the suppression of the Marquis of *Ormonde's* peace, and the change of the Government there, together with the powers granted before by the King to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and the confidence in his Lordship, testified by his Majesty, in his letters to him and the Nuncio, induced the latter to resolve upon making the Earl Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, if the Marquis of *Ormonde* could be

“ Regis fiducia, cum rei facilius exequendæ jam affulgentis spe & occasione, effecit, ut Nuncius de *Glamorgano* (modo *Ormonius Dubliniæ* excutetur) in Proregem substituendo cogitarit; quo fieret, ut sub illo satrapâ ter catholico lata aperiretur via ad hæresim totâ *Iberniâ* eliminandam, deindeque ad ipsum regem, dum accederet, convertendum, vel certè ad florentissimum fidissimumque exercitum ex *Iberniâ* in *Angliam* trajiciendum, quo cum ejusdem regni catholicis conjuncto, rex in integrum restitueretur, & fides catholica in *Angliâ* quoque & *Scotiâ* de hæreticis inter se discordibus triumpharet. In hoc tantum inceptum ut valentius incumberetur, decreverunt unanimi consensu nuncius & *Glamorganus* illustrissimum D. *Somerfetti* Vicecomitem, *Glamorgano* fratrem non minus catholicum, ad summum Pontificem allegare.” *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 1376.

be forced from *Dublin*. For the Nuncio was of opinion, that under the conduct of so zealous a Catholic as the Earl, a way would be opened for exterminating the Protestant Religion from *Ireland*, and the conversion of the King, if he should come thither; or at least for transporting a strong and faithful army out of *Ireland* into *England*; by the junction of which with the *English* Catholics, his Majesty might be restored, and the Catholic Religion triumph over the Protestants in *England* and *Scotland*, who were extremely divided among themselves. For this purpose the Nuncio and the Earl of *Glamorgan* resolved to send the Lord *John Somerset*, the Earl's brother, who was likewise a zealous Catholic, to the Pope; to whom the Nuncio wrote a letter from *Kilkenny* on the 21st of *September* 1646, and another in cypher to Cardinal *Pamphilio* of the same date, to this purpose *.

“ AMONG other patents and commissions signed by the King, and brought by the Earl of *Glamorgan* from *England*,

* Ibid. fol. 1376—1379.

" *land*, there is one, appointing him
 " Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, upon the
 " expiration of the Marquis of *Ormonde's*
 " term of holding that post, or in case
 " the Marquis should, by any fault, de-
 " serve to be removed from it *. For
 " this reason, I was of opinion, that the
 " Earl, who had designed to go to *Rome*,
 " should stay for the present in this king-
 " dom, imagining, that a way might per-
 " haps be opened for accomplishing this
 " affair. And in fact the way seems open
 " for us, since the Marquis of *Ormonde* is
 " now publicly negotiating with the Par-
 " liamentarians, and consequently making
 " a treaty with the King's enemies. Upon
 " which occasion, the Earl being desirous
 " of advancing himself to the Marquis's
 " post, has begun to solicit the consent of
 " the kingdom, and believes, that he has
 " the interest of the two Generals, and
 " almost all the Congregation of the Clergy
 " and

* "Inter alias à Rege subscriptas & sigillo munitas,
 " quas *Glamorganie Comes* ex *Angliâ* portavit, scul-
 " tates, una fuit, ut *Iberniæ* Prorex esse posset, ter-
 " minato *Ormonie* Marchionis tempore, vel casu,
 " quo Marchio aliquod, ob quod deponi mereretur,
 " delictum committeret." *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol.
 1376.

“ and the New Council. I have thought
 “ it the more proper to promote this af-
 “ fair, since when *Dublin* shall be taken,
 “ it will be immediately necessary for the
 “ kingdom to provide a Lord Lieutenant.
 “ And it is a point of no small impor-
 “ tance in the present situation of affairs,
 “ to begin with appointing to that post a
 “ Catholic, so highly beloved by this king-
 “ dom and the King himself. Besides it
 “ is to be considered, that the King’s *in-*
 “ *clination and pleasure* concurs with this
 “ design; for tho’ his Majesty has appointed
 “ the Earl by his *lesser seal* only, yet that
 “ is sufficient for the *Irish*, since they have
 “ just reason to consider that appointment
 “ as legal and valid. Add to this, that as
 “ the Confederates of *Ireland* have it in
 “ their view to transport the Holy Faith
 “ into *England* by their arms, no person
 “ appears to be more fit for the execu-
 “ tion of such a purpose, than the Earl,
 “ in whom two characters are united,
 “ that of a *faithful servant to the King*,
 “ and a perfect Catholic; and who the
 “ winter before was ready to carry over
 “ to the King from that country ten thou-
 “ sand

"sand men for the same purposes. Some,
 "and those but a few, oppose this design,
 "upon this single consideration, that the
 "Earl being both an *Englishman* and of a
 "very mild temper, will not be favour-
 "able enough to *Ireland*, nor exert the
 "firmness necessary in this case. But I
 "believe no better choice can now pos-
 "sibly be made, and that the appoint-
 "ment of a Catholic Lord Lieutenant,
 "who is in so many respects attached to
 "the Apostolical See, and bound to it by
 "oath and promises, which the Earl has
 "a hundred times repeated to me, is suf-
 "ficient to weigh down every other
 "doubt."

A WEEK after the writing of this letter,
 the Earl took the following oath to the
 Nuncio *.

"I *Edward Earl of Glamorgan, &c.*
 "faithfully promise and swear, that I
 "will do nothing of moment without
 "the consent and approbation of the most
 "illustrious Nuncio; and if I shall happen
 "to

* Ibid. fol. 1380.

“ to do any thing imprudently, which
 “ shall not be approved by him, I will cor-
 “ rect my error upon the first intimation
 “ of his pleasure, and obey his commands.
 “ If it should be more conducive to the
 “ praise and glory of God, the splendor
 “ of the Catholic Church, and the hap-
 “ piness of this kingdom, that the post of
 “ Lord Lieutenant be conferred upon an-
 “ other person rather than myself; I swear,
 “ that I will readily and without reluc-
 “ tance resign it, at the command of the
 “ most illustrious Nuncio. And in all
 “ things I vow a perfect, voluntary, and
 “ religious obedience to his Holiness,
 “ saving my secular obligations towards
 “ my most serene King. And if I fail
 “ in any part of the oath taken by me, I
 “ consent, that the said oath be published,
 “ and myself exposed; otherwise the said
 “ oath shall be communicated only to
 “ the Bishop of *Fernes*, Chancellor of
 “ the Congregation, and to Father *Ro-*
 “ *bert Nugent*, Superior of the Jesuits
 “ in *Ireland*. In confirmation of this
 “ oath voluntarily taken by me, I have
 “ written all this with my own hand,
 S “ subscribed

“ subscribed my name, and affixed my
“ seal, the 28th of *September*, 1646,
“ *Glamorgan.*”

THE Earl however still kept a correspondence with the Marquis of *Ormonde*; but Mr. *Carte* has given us none of his letters, tho’ it is probable he found some among the Marquis’s papers; who owns the receipt of several letters from the Earl in the following one to his Lordship *.

“ *My Lord,*

“ I Received your *several letters*, and
“ the *instructions* intended; but being
“ now drawing forth for the defence of
“ our quarters, I must beg your Lord-
“ ship’s pardon, that I give not particular
“ answers to them all. I understand not
“ what your Lordship’s *authorities from*
“ *his Majesty are*, or what ways you
“ mean to take to serve him; and there-
“ fore can give no judgment of either.
“ But I must assure your Lordship (what-
“ ever you hear) I am so great a reverencer
“ of the King’s authority, and so desirous
“ to

* *Carte*, Vol. III. N° 486. p. 504.

" to advance his service, that if your
 " Lordship will let me see the one, and
 " instruct me in the ways of the other,
 " you will find from me ready obedience
 " to his power, and no disturbance to
 " what I shall find done for his service.
 " In the mean time, I must take the free-
 " dom of a better subject than most your
 " Lordship meets with there, and of one
 " that wishes you happiness, to advise
 " you to be careful, how you affirm your
 " desires to serve the King to be powers
 " from him. And so, my Lord, I rest
 " your Lordship's

" *Affectionate Kinsman, &c*

" *Humble Servant,*

" Ormonde."

Dublin-Castle, 6th Octob. 1646.

But the Lord *Digby* was so exasperated
 by the Earl of *Glamorgan's* proceedings in
 concert with the Nuncio, and a suspicion,
 that the latter had a design to arrest him
 at *Kilkenny*, that his Lordship in a letter of
 his, of the 18th of that month, from *Catterlogh*
 to the Lord Lieutenant, expressed

himself in these severe terms concerning the Earl *.

“ THERE is nothing more certain, than
 “ that the Lord *Glamorgan* is a principal
 “ author and fomenter of all this mischief
 “ of the Clergy, and that he hath forged
 “ new powers from his Majesty to take
 “ upon him the command, at least of
 “ *Munster*, if not of *Ireland*. It is ne-
 “ cessary, that the King be advertised of
 “ it, and that his Majesty no longer dally
 “ with the fool, but that he send him some
 “ fulminating letter, not conveyed unto
 “ him by either of us, commanding him
 “ upon his allegiance forthwith to quit
 “ this kingdom.” He adds, that the
 Nuncio was to come the next day to live at
Grange Mellan, “ where, *says he*, I con-
 “ ceive it will be much easier surprizing
 “ him from hence by water, without any
 “ adventure in the attempt, than to steal
 “ my horses at *Leixlip*, especially he
 “ having at least twelve on his guard of
 “ my foot-soldiers, which left *Dublin*
 “ upon your application to the Parlia-
 “ ment.

* Id. Ibid. N^o 492. p. 508.

“ment. If the Marquis of *Ormonde* ap-
 “prove of the thing, command the Go-
 “vernour of this place [*Caterlogh*] to obey
 “such orders, as he shall receive from me.”

The Lord Lieutenant, in his answer to this letter on the 22d of *October* 1646 *, *sends the direction desired, to Caterlogh, and wishes the feat* [of surprising the Nuncio] *done*; but takes no notice of Lord *Digby's* words relating to Lord *Glamorgan*; nor do we find, that his Lordship ever after remonstrated against the latter to the King, or that his Majesty sent any *fulminating letter* to the Earl, or in any other way complained of his conduct; which neither the *Scots* nor *English* Protestants, in whose custody his Majesty was, would have denied him the liberty of doing.

THE Marquis of *Ormonde*, finding it impossible to maintain *Dublin* against the *Irish*, who had laid siege to it, chose to deliver that city to the Parliament of *England* in *June*, 1647 †, and retired into that kingdom, where he waited upon the King

S 3

at

* Id. ibid. N° 493. p. 508, 509.

† Cox, p. 193.

at *Hampton-Court* in the latter end of *August* *. Thence he went over to *Paris* in *March*, 1647-8 †; but in the latter end of *September* following, returned to *Ireland*, and resumed the post of Lord Lieutenant; and on the 4th of *October* wrote to the Supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, that his Majesty had sent him, pursuant to their requests; and that he desired, they would send Commissioners to *Carrick*, to treat of a peace, which they readily complied with ‡.

THE King was by this time engaged in the treaty of the isle of *Wight*, which had been agreed upon between his Majesty and both houses of Parliament in the beginning of *August* ||; and on the 9th of *October*, the Parliament-Commissioners had desired his Majesty to give his royal assent to the several propositions concerning *Ireland*;

* *Carte*, Vol. II. p. 11.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 16.

‡ *Cox*, p. 202.

|| Perfect copies of all the votes, letters, and proposals relating to the treaty of the isle of *Wight*, printed at the end of Sir *Edward Walker's* historical discourses, p. 3. edit. *London*, 1705, fol.

land; particularly, " that an act of Par-
 " liament be passed, to declare and make
 " void the *Cessation of Ireland*, and all
 " *Treaties and Conclusions of Peace*, or
 " any *Articles* thereupon with the Rebels,
 " *without the consent of both houses of*
 " *Parliament*; and to settle the prosecu-
 " tion of the war of *Ireland* in both
 " houses of Parliament of *England* to be
 " managed by them; and his Majesty to
 " assist, and *to do no act to discountenance*
 " *or molest them therein* *." To which
 proposition his Majesty gave *his consent as*
desired †. But on the 10th of *October*,
 the day after presenting that proposition to
 his Majesty, he wrote a letter to the Mar-
 quis of *Ormonde* ‡, in which he ordered
 his Lordship as follows: " First, *says he*,
 " to obey *all my wife's commands*; then,
 " not to obey any *public command* of
 " mine, until I send you word, that I am
 " free from restraint. Lastly, be not
 " startled at my *great Concessions* con-
 " cerning *Ireland*, for that they will come
 S 4 " to

* Ibid. p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 54.

‡ *Carte*, Vol. II. Append. N^o XXXI. p. 17.

“ to nothing.” He repeated likewise the
 same orders in another letter of the 28th of
 the same month *, in which he writes thus:
 “ I hope, before this, mine of the *tenth* of
 “ this month will have come to your
 “ hands: I sent it by the way of *France*.
 “ This is not only to confirm the contents
 “ of that, but also to approve of certain
 “ commands to you: likewise to com-
 “ mand to prosecute certain instructions,
 “ until I shall, under my own hand, give
 “ you other commands. And tho’ you
 “ will hear, that *this treaty* is near, or
 “ at least most likely to be concluded, yet
 “ *believe it not*; but *pursue the way* you
 “ are in with all possible vigour. Deliver
 “ also that my command to all your friends,
 “ but not in a public way, because other-
 “ wise it may be inconvenient to me, and
 “ particularly to *Inchiquin*.” However,
 tho’ the King had written these two letters,
 yet when the Parliament had discovered,
 that the Marquis of *Ormonde* was arrived
 in *Ireland*, with a power to treat and con-
 clude a peace with the rebels there, and the
 Parliament-Commissioners had on the 1st
 of

* Id. ibid. N° XXXII. p. 17.

of November desired his Majesty's *public Declaration against any such power, and against the proceedings of the said Lord Ormonde in Ireland* *; he returned an answer, not very consistent with his two letters to the Marquis, "That since the first
 " votes [*Aug. 3d*] passed for the treaty, he
 " *bath not transacted any affairs concerning*
 " Ireland, but with you the Commissioners
 " in relation to the treaty itself †:" And on the 25th of November consented to write a letter to the Marquis; acquainting his Lordship with such informations, as his Majesty had received from the two houses of Parliament, concerning his Lordship's proceedings in *Ireland*, and requiring him to desist from any farther prosecution of the same ‡.

BUT this letter being contrary to the two private ones from his Majesty above-mentioned, the Marquis went on with the treaty, and after twenty days spent in it at

* Perfect copies of votes relating to the treaty of the isle of *Wight*, p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 73.

‡ Ibid. p. 95.

at *Carrick*, removed, about the middle of *November*, to his castle at *Kilkenny*, upon the invitation of the *Irish* Commissioners, and to be nearer the General Assembly, which was then sitting in that city, where he was received with such profound respect, as is usually paid to the sovereign authority; and had his own guards with him. However, it was the middle of *January* before the matters relating to the peace could be adjusted; and then they passed unanimously, even by the votes of the *Popish* Bishops, and were on the 17th of that month mutually ratified, and afterwards proclaimed with great joy *, and followed by a circular letter of the *Popish* Clergy, expressing their great satisfaction at this peace, and containing these remarkable expressions †: “ As a
 “ war undertaken principally for reli-
 “ gion gave us all the world over the re-
 “ putation of a Catholic People; even
 “ so the peace, now concluded between
 “ the King’s Lieutenant and us, speaks us
 “ a *most loyal nation*, as complying with
 “ his Majesty in his greatest necessity;
 “ tho’

* *Cox*, p. 204, 205.

† *Id.* Append. N° XLIV. p. 166.

“ tho’, in our thoughts and occasions
 “ during these seven years wars, we have
 “ still this loyalty, and have oft publicly
 “ sworn it; yet we lay under the suspicion
 “ of many men. But by the present
 “ agreement all blemish of that kind is
 “ taken away. We are of opinion, that
 “ our sense of this peace would give you
 “ a confidence to receive and submit to it
 “ willingly and chearfully. To which
 “ end, we do hereby give you assurance,
 “ we have by this peace, in the *present*
 “ *Concessions*, and in the *expectations* of
 “ *further gracious favours* from his Ma-
 “ *jesty’s goodness*, received a good satisf-
 “ faction for the being and safety of our
 “ religion: And the *substance* thereof, as
 “ to the *Concessions for religion*, is *better*
 “ *than the sound*. By the temporal ar-
 “ ticles, the lives, liberties, and estates of
 “ men are provided for; so as now
 “ you have a clear quarrel, without
 “ thought or the least colour of suspicion;
 “ for you *fight purely against Sectaries*
 “ *and Rebels*, for God and Cæsar; and
 “ under those banners you may well hope
 “ for victories.”

BUT

BUT whatever the sentiments of the *Irish* Papists were of the terms of this peace, the Protestants could not but entertain very contrary notions of them; and King *Charles II*, in the preamble to the *Act of Settlement*, had good reason to stile the conditions *difficult*. *Milton* immediately published very severe *Observations* on the articles of peace; which were, in fact, not much less obnoxious than the Earl of *Glamorgan's* treaty.

FOR by the *first* Article the *Roman* Catholics were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and exempted from the oath of supremacy, and assured, that
 “ they or any of them shall not be mo-
 “ lested in the possession, which they have
 “ at present, of churches and church-livings,
 “ or of the exercise of their respective ju-
 “ risdictions, as they now exercise the same,
 “ until such time as his Majesty, upon a
 “ full consideration of the desires of the
 “ said *Roman* Catholics, in a free Parlia-
 “ ment to be held in this kingdom, shall
 “ declare his further pleasure.” The *se-
 cond* article puts it into the hands of an
Irish

Irish Parliament to repeal, or suspend *Poyning's Act*. By the *twelfth*, it is agreed, that *with regard to the Independency of the Parliament of Ireland on the Parliament of England*, his Majesty will leave both Houses of Parliament in Ireland to make declaration therein, as shall be most agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland. By the *ninth* it is agreed, that the command of forts, castles, garisons, towns, and other places of importance in the kingdom shall be conferred upon his Majesty's *Roman Catholic* subjects of this kingdom; and that until a full settlement in Parliament 15,000 foot and 2500 horse of the said *Roman Catholics* shall be of the standing army of the kingdom; with power to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord *Dillon*, *Muskerry*, and others, who had been the principal authors of the Rebellion, to diminish or add to the said number, as they shall see cause. Other articles allow the *Roman Catholics* the constituting of Magistrates and Judges in all causes, whom they thought fit; and till a full settlement in Parliament, the possession of all towns and

and counties within their then quarters. Among these articles, which were of such serious consequence to every Protestant, there was one of a more ludicrous nature, which shewed the strong propension of the nation to return to their old absurd customs; for the 22d article agreed to the repeal of two acts, one *prohibiting the plowing with horses by the tail*, and the other *prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw*. By this peace the Marquis of Ormonde proposed to get together an army of the *Irish*, consisting of 20,000 foot, and 3,500 horse, to prevent the impending fate of his Royal Master. But he was disappointed in that expectation; for besides, that the *Irish* had delayed the conclusion of the peace too long to render it serviceable to the King, now brought to his trial, and had exacted such conditions, as would rather *hasten* than *prevent* his *Majesty's ruin*, they were extremely deficient in their promised proportions of men and money*.

A s

* Cox, p. 205.

As for the Earl of Glamorgan, who became Marquis of *Worcester* by the death of his father in the latter end of the year 1646; he went to *France* in *March* 1647-8*, with Father *George Leyburn*, a *Roman Catholic* Priest, who had been sent to *Ireland* the year before by Prince *Charles*, as his agent to the Lord Lieutenant, the Catholic Confederacy, the Nuncio, and the Clergy: But his Lordship returned some years after to *England*; and a few months after the Restoration was induced to surrender up to his Majesty the Patent for creating him Duke of *Somerset*†; but the title of Duke of *Beaufort* was afterwards conferred upon his eldest son. In 1663, he published a little piece, printed at *London* in 24^o, under the title of, *A Century of names and scantlings of such inventions, as I at present call to mind to have tried and perfected*; in the dedication of which piece to the two Houses of Parliament

* *Memoirs of George Leyburn*, Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to *Henrietta-Maria*, Queen of *England*, being a journal of his agency from Prince *Charles* in *Ireland*, p. 61. edit. *London*, 1722.

† See p. 23 in the Note.

liament he takes notice of his losses and sufferings, and of "the honour he had to
 " be *near* so obliging a master as his late
 " Majesty of happy memory, who never,
 " says he, *refused me his ear* to any rea-
 " sonable motion; and as for any unrea-
 " sonable ones, or such as *were not fit-*
 " *ting for him to grant*, I would rather
 " to have died a thousand deaths, than
 " ever to have made any one to him."

SUCH was the state of the negotiations of the Earl of *Glamorgan* with the *Irish* Rebels and the Pope's Nuncio; in which the King's share will appear but too evident, even separately from the authority of the Nuncio's *Memoirs*.

To this purpose I shall suggest the following considerations:

I. THE King himself in his *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* is perfectly silent upon this head, tho' it much more concerned his character, than many other things, from which he endeavours to justify himself with the greatest solemnity.

II. HIS

II. HIS Majesty's conduct in this important affair was astonishing; for tho' in his message to the two Houses of the 29th of *January* 1645-6, he declares that he had given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, to proceed against the Earl of Glamorgan; and tho' in his public letters to the Lord Lieutenant and Council there on the 31st of that month, he orders, that *the charge begun against the Earl be thoroughly and diligently prosecuted against him*; yet in a private letter written to the Lord Lieutenant the day before, viz. *January 30th*, he commands him to *suspend the execution of any sentence against the Earl, until, says he, you inform me fully of all the proceedings*: For I believe it was his misguided zeal, more than any malice, which brought this great misfortune on him and us all.

III. THE two Secretaries of State, Lord Digby and Sir Edward Nicholas, deny their knowledge of the warrant to the Earl of Glamorgan; which they might
T safely

safely do, since the whole transaction between the King and the Earl appears to have been a secret between them; and the want of the usual forms in the warrants and commissions to his Lordship was dispensed with in that of the 12th of *January* 1644-5; and his Majesty in the Patent of the 1st of *April* 1644, affixed the Great Seal to it *with his own hand*, without the intervention of the proper officer. And it is remarkable, that Secretary *Nicholas* in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*, speaking of the warrant of *March* 12th, has these words: "Your Lordship *cannot but judge* it to be, at least, *surreptitiously gotten*, if not worse; for his Majesty saith, he *remembers it not*." And in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he says, that the Earl's *pretended warrant (if any such be) was surreptitiously gotten*.

IV. THE Earl's letter written to his wife during his confinement shews, that he was not the least conscious of having done any thing, which could reflect on his honour, or expose him to danger, as
appears

appears from these, among other expressions: " I need not tell you, how *clear*
 " I am, and *void of fear*, the only effect
 " of a *good conscience*; and that I am
 " *guilty of nothing*, that may testify one
 " thought of *disloyalty to his Majesty*, or
 " what may *slain the honour* of the fa-
 " mily I come of, or set a brand upon
 " my posterity. . . . You need doubt no-
 " thing, but that this cloud will be soon
 " dissipated by the *sun-shine of the King*
 " *my master*. . . . I could justify both the
 " King and myself in what I have done.
 " . . . I hope this day, or to-morrow, will
 " set a period to my business, *to the shame*
 " of those, who have been the occasioners
 " of it. . . . I am confident *all will prove*
 " to my greater honour, and my right
 " honourable accuser, my Lord Digby,
 " will be at last *rectified and confirmed*
 " in the good opinion, which he is pleased
 " to say he ever had of me hitherto."
 And this is farther confirmed by his letter to the King himself from *Waterford*,
 23 Feb. 1645-6, wherein he has these expressions: " What hath been the occasion
 " of so long delays, and yet suffers not your

" Majesty's service therein to proceed with
 " that advantage it might do, I con-
 " ceive not so fit to commit to paper.
 " I need only tell your Majesty,
 " that my further services intended for
 " you will, I hope, without further cros-
 " ses, be suffered to go on; tho' strange is
 " the industry used by many seeming
 " friends to binder me therein. But I
 " am confident it shall not lie in their
 " power, your Majesty remaining still
 " constant, as I doubt not but you will
 " be, to your favourable opinion and right
 " interpretation of my poor endeavours,
 " which, if they may take place, will
 " make you to be a glorious and happy
 " Prince."

V. IT is extremely surprizing, that the
 Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*
 should release the Earl from his confine-
 ment, before they received any answer from
 the King to their letters, in which they
 represented so strongly what prejudice the
 Earl's treating with the *Irish* Rebels in the
 King's Name had done to his Majesty's re-
 putation: And it is highly probable, that
 they

they would not have suffered his Lordship to depart, after he had been charged with so heinous a forgery, if he had not satisfied them by producing to the Lord Lieutenant a warrant of *January* 12th, which Mr. *Carte* owns he did, and perhaps by other means, that he had authority from the King, to act as he had done in the treaty of *August* 25, 1645.

VI. THE Marquis of *Ormonde*, in a letter of the 11th of *February*, 1645-6, to the Earl, then at *Kilkenny*, in answer to one of his Lordship's, has these expressions, which would be very strange, if the latter had not cleared himself from the suspicion of forging warrants from the King: "Your Lordship *may securely go on* in the ways you have proposed to yourself *to serve the King, without fear of interruption from me*, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by."

AND it appears from a letter of the Marquis to the Earl, of the 6th of *October*, 1646, that the Marquis had received several

ral letters from his Lordship, in which the latter acquainted him, with his having *authorities from his Majesty.*

VII. THE King, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde from Oxford, January 18th, 1644-5, orders him to promise to the *Irish* rebels, that if they would give him that assistance, which they had promised, he would consent to the repeal of the penal laws against them by a law: And in a letter to the Queen from Oxford, March 5th, 1644-5, he promises to take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, if he might have their assistance. And yet in a message of his Majesty to the two houses on the 8th of April, 1642 *, he called God to witness, " That he would never consent " (upon whatsoever pretence) to a tolera-
" tion of the Popish profession, or abo-
" lition of the laws now in force against
" *Popish Recusants* in Ireland:" And in a protestation, which he made in July, 1643, before he received the sacrament from Archbishop *Usher's* hands at Oxford, he used these words †: " May I so receive comfort
" by

* *Husbands's* Collection, p. 134.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. V. p. 346.

“ by the blessed sacrament, as I do intend
 “ the establishment of the true reformed
 “ Protestant religion, as it stood in its
 “ beauty, in the happy days of Queen
 “ *Elizabeth*, without any connivance at
 “ *Popery*.”

VIII. BOTH Houses of Parliament, in their declaration presented to the King at *Newmarket*, *March* 9th, 1641-2 *, represent to his Majesty as follows: “ The
 “ manifold advertisements, which we have
 “ had from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other
 “ parts, that they still expect, that your
 “ Majesty has some great design in hand
 “ for the altering of religion, the break-
 “ ing the neck of your Parliament; that
 “ you will yet find means to compass that
 “ design: That the *Pope's Nuncio* hath
 “ solicited the Kings of *France* and *Spain*,
 “ to lend your Majesty four thousand men
 “ a-piece, to help to maintain your royalty
 “ against the Parliament: And this *foreign*
 “ *force*, as it is the most *pernicious* and
 “ *malignant* design of all the rest, so we
 T 4 “ hope

* *Clarendon*, B. IV. p. 145. *Husband's* Collection, p. 100. edit. 1643. 4to. and *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 346.

" hope it is, and shall always be farthest
 " from your Majesty's thoughts, because
 " no man can believe you will give up
 " your people and kingdom, to be spoiled
 " by strangers, if you did not likewise in-
 " tend to change both your own profession
 " in religion, and the public profession of
 " the kingdom, that so you might still be
 " more assured of those foreign states of
 " the Popish religion, for your future sup-
 " port and defence." To which his Ma-
 " jesty returned this answer * : " What
 " your advertisements are from *Rome*,
 " *Venice*, *Paris*, and other places, or
 " what the *Pope's Nuncio* sollicit the
 " Kings of *France* or *Spain* to do, or
 " from what persons such informations
 " come to you, or how the credit and
 " reputation of such persons have been
 " sifted and examined, we know not; but
 " are confident, no sober honest man in
 " our kingdoms can believe, that we are
 " so desperate, or so senseless, to entertain
 " such designs, as would not only bury this
 " our kingdom in sudden destruction and
 " ruin

* Clarendon, B. V. p. 152. *Husbands's Collec-*
tion, p. 108. and *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 531.

"ruin, but our own name and posterity
 "in perpetual scorn and infamy." And
 yet it is evident from Lord Digby's
 Papers taken at the battle of *Sherborne* in
Yorkshire, on the 13th of *October* 1646 *,
 that foreign states and kingdoms were
 pressed to declare for the King against the
 Parliament: That the Duke of *Lorrain*
 himself was treated with to come over
 and command his army in person, consist-
 ing of 10000 men: That *France* was like-
 wise courted: That clandestine collections
 of money were raised amongst the Popish
 clergy for his Majesty; and that even the
 Pope himself, as well as the Popish *Irish*
 Rebels, were solicited to assist him.

IX. THE King's correspondence with
 the Pope's Nuncio, in the distressed situa-
 of his affairs, is the less surprizing, since it
 is notorious, that some years before the
 war he admitted *Gregoria Panzani* an
Italian, and *George Con* a *Scot*, and after
 wards Count *Rosetti*, to reside about
 the court as Agents or Nuncios from the
 See of *Rome*. The first was sent over
 in

* *Husbands's Collection*, p. 831, & seqq.

in the latter end of 1634, by Pope *Urban VIII.* "on no other pretence, says Dr. *Heylin* *, than to prevent a schism, "which was then like to be made between "the *Regulars* and the *Secular Priests*, to "the great scandal of that Church; yet "under that pretence *were muffled many* "other designs, which were not fit to "be discovered unto vulgar eyes." Mr. *Prynne* asserts †, that his business here was to labour to a reduction of us to the vassalage of the Church of Rome; and that "he saluted first the Queen, after "that the King, who received and treated "him with much Kindness, telling him, "that he was very welcome, his Majesty "remaining uncovered during all the discourse and entertainment." He found means, according to Dr. *Heylin* ‡, "to "move the King for the permission of an "Agent from the Pope to be addressed to "the Queen for the concernments of her "religion; which the King, with the "advice

* Life of Archbishop *Laud*, Part II. B. IV. p. 287,

† Hidden works of darkness brought to light; or a necessary introduction to the history of the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* tryal, p. 141. edit. London 1645, fol.

‡ *Ubi supra.*

" advice and consent of his council, con-
 " descended to, upon condition, that the
 " party sent should be no Priest." Having
 thus, adds the same historian *, " laid the
 " foundation of an *Agency* or constant
 " correspondence between the Queen's
 " court and the Pope's, *Panzani* left the
 " pursuit of the design to *Con*, a *Scot* by
 " birth, but of a *very busy and pragma-*
 " *tical head*. Arriving in *England* about
 " the middle of summer, *anno* 1636, he
 " brought with him many pretended
 " relics of saints, medals and pieces of
 " gold with the Pope's picture stamped
 " on them..... He found the King and
 " Queen at *Holdenby* House, and by the
 " Queen was very graciously entertained,
 " and took up his chief lodgings in a
 " house near the New Exchange. As
 " soon as the court was returned to *White-*
 " *hall*, he applied himself diligently to his
 " work, practising upon some of the *prin-*
 " *cipal Lords*, and *making himself very*
 " *plausible with the King himself*, who
 " hoped he might make some use of him
 " in the court of *Rome* for facilitating the
 " resti-

“ restitution of the Prince Elector.” Count *Rosetti* staid in *England* till the latter end of *June* 1641; Mr. *Pym*, in a conference at a committee of both houses on the 24th of that month, complaining, that “ the said Count, the Pope’s Nuncio, doth “ yet continue in the kingdom, and yet “ resorts unto court;” tho’ the Queen had, in a message to the house of Commons, on the 3d of *February*, 1640-1, promised, that *within a convenient time she would remove him out of the kingdom.* And both houses of parliament, in their *Declaration* presented to the King at *Newmarket*, *March* 9th, 1641-2, having observed that “ they had great cause to “ doubt, that the late design, stiled *the “ Queen’s pious intention*, was for the alteration of religion in this kingdom;” and, that “ for the success of this, the “ Pope’s Nuncio, Count *Rosetti*, enjoined “ fasting and praying to be observed every “ week by the *English* Papists, which appeared to us by one of the original “ letters directed by him to a Priest in “ *Lancashire.*”

X. HIS Majesty's writing to Pope *Innocent* X. is the more probable, as we find two letters of his to two of that Pope's predecessors, *Gregory* XV. and *Urban* VIII. The former of these letters was written while he was Prince of *Wales*, and in *Spain*, in answer to one from the Pope, dated *April* 20th, 1623, exhorting him to come into the bosom of the church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done such great things for the defence of religion *. The Prince's answer, dated at *Madrid*, *June* 20th, the same year, was published soon after in the *Mercure François* †, and since reprinted in *Wilson* ‡, *Rushworth* ||, &c. tho' there is some difference in the copies given by the two last mentioned historians. But in that of the *Mercure François*, which agrees with *Rushworth's*, are these most remarkable expressions: " It was an unspeakable
" pleasure

* *Mercure François*, Tom. IX. Anno 1623. p. 509, 510.

† Ibid. p. 515, 516, 517.

‡ Life of King *James*, p. 233. edit. London 1653, fol.

|| Tom. I. p. 82.

“ pleasure to me to read the generous ex-
 “ ploits of the King’s my predecessors, to
 “ whose memory posterity hath not given
 “ those praises and eulogies of honour, as
 “ were due to them. I do believe, that
 “ your Holiness hath set their examples
 “ before my eyes, to the end, that I
 “ might imitate them in all my actions;
 “ for in truth they have often exposed
 “ their estates and lives for the *exalta-*
 “ *tion of the holy chair.* And the cou-
 “ rage, with which they have assaulted
 “ the enemies of the cross of *Jesus Christ,*
 “ hath not been less than the *care* and
 “ *thought, which I have,* to the end,
 “ that the peace and intelligence, which
 “ hath hitherto been wanting in *Christen-*
 “ *dom,* might be bound with the bond of
 “ a true concord. For like as the com-
 “ mon enemy of peace watcheth always
 “ to put hatred and dissention between
 “ the Christian Princes; so I believe, that
 “ the glory of God requires, that we
 “ should endeavour to unite them. And
 “ I do not esteem it a greater honour to
 “ be descended from so great princes, than
 “ to

" to *imitate them in the zeal of their*
 " *piety*; in which it helps me very much
 " to have known the mind and will of
 " our thrice-honoured Lord and Father,
 " and the holy intentions of his Catholic
 " Majesty to give a happy concurrence to
 " so laudable a design. For it grieves him
 " extremely to see the great evil, that
 " grows from the division of Christian
 " Princes, which the wisdom of your
 " Holiness *foresaw*, when it judged the
 " marriage, *which you pleased to design*,
 " between the Infanta of Spain and my-
 " self, to be necessary to procure so great
 " a good. For it is very certain, that I
 " shall never be so extremely affectionate
 " to any thing in the world, as to endea-
 " vour an alliance with a Prince, that hath
 " the same apprehension of the true reli-
 " gion with myself. Therefore I intreat
 " your Holiness to believe, that *I have*
 " *been always very far from encouraging*
 " *novelties*, or to be a *Partisan of any*
 " *faction against the Catholic Apostolic*
 " *Roman religion*; but, on the contrary
 " I have fought all occasions to take away
 " the suspicion, that might rest upon me,
 " and

“ and that I will *employ myself* for the
 “ *time to come, to have but one religion*
 “ *and one faith*, seeing that we all believe
 “ in *Jesus Christ*; having resolved in my-
 “ self to spare nothing, that I have in the
 “ world, and to suffer all manner of dis-
 “ commodities, even to the hazarding
 “ of my estate and life, for a thing so
 “ pleasing unto God.” The King’s letter
 to Pope *Urban VIII.* was written in 1634,
 and a copy of it found by Mr. *Prynne*,
 (who has published it,) among Archbishop
Laud’s papers, indorsed thus with that
 Prelate’s own hand *: *Rece. Octob. 15,*
1635, A copy of the letter, which is re-
ported King Charles did write to Pope
Urban the eighth, about the restitution of
the Duke of Lorrain.

XI. THE Protestants even of the King’s
 court and party, were jealous very early
 of the ascendant, which the Queen and
 the Papists had over him; and dreaded
 the consequence of it. The Earl of *Sun-*
derland, a young Nobleman of an early-
 judgment,

* *Prynne’s* hidden works of darkness, p. 141, 142.

judgment, as Lord Clarendon styles him *, and who served all along as a volunteer in his Majesty's army, and lost his life for him at the battle of *Newbury*, expresses very strongly his apprehensions of this in several letters written in cypher to his wife, lately published in the second volume of the *Letters of the Sidney family* †. In a letter from *Shrewsbury*, Sept. 21, 1642, he writes thus: "The King's condition is much improved of late: his force increaseth daily, which increaseth the insolence of the Papists. How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here, I have at large expressed in several letters. Neither is there wanting, daily, handsome occasion to retire, were it not for grinning honour. For let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were resolved to fight on the Parliament side, which, for my part, I had rather be hanged; it will be said, without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve

U

" the

* History of the Rebellion, B. VII. p. 351. edit. Oxford, 1732. fol.

† P. 667, 668.

" the punctilio of honour, I would not
 " continue here an hour. The discontent,
 " that I and many other *honest* men re-
 " ceive daily, is beyond expression. Peo-
 " ple are much divided. The King is of
 " late *very much averse to peace* by the
 " persuasions of 202 and 111. It is like-
 " wise conceived, that the King has taken
 " a resolution not to do any thing that
 " way, *before the Queen comes*; for people
 " *advising the King to agree with the Par-*
 " *liament* was the occasion of the *Queen's*
 " *return*. Till that time no advice will
 " be received. Nevertheless the honest
 " men will take all occasions to procure
 " an accommodation; which the King,
 " when he sent those messages, did
 " heartily desire, and would still make
 " offers in that way, but for 202, 111,
 " and the *expectation of the Queen*, and the
 " *fear of the Papists*, who threaten people
 " of 342. I fear 243 [*Papists*] *threats*
 " *have a much greater influence upon* 83
 " [*King*] *than upon* 343." And in ano-
 " ther letter, written in *October 1642*, he
 " says, " *If the King, or rather* 243 [*Papists*]
 " *prevail, we are in a sad condition; for*
 " *they*

“ *they will be insupportable to all, but most*
 “ *to us, who have opposed them; so that*
 “ *if the King prevails by force, I must*
 “ *not live at home, which is grievous*
 “ *to me, but more to you: But if I*
 “ *apprehend I shall not be suffered to*
 “ *live in England. And yet I cannot*
 “ *fancy any way to avoid both; for the*
 “ *King is so awed by 243 [Papists], that*
 “ *he dares not propose peace, or accept I*
 “ *fear; tho’ by his last message he is en-*
 “ *gaged. But if that be offered by the*
 “ *Parliament, I and others will speak their*
 “ *opinion; tho’ by that concerning the*
 “ *treaty were threatned by 243 [Papists],*
 “ *who caused 99 to be commanded by*
 “ *the King, upon his allegiance, to return*
 “ *against his will, he being too powerful*
 “ *for 102, 11, and by whom England is*
 “ *now likely to be governed. The*
 “ *King is in so good condition at this time,*
 “ *that if the Parliament would restore all*
 “ *his rights, unless the Parliament will de-*
 “ *liver up to a legal tryal all those per-*
 “ *sons named in his long —, and some*
 “ *others, he will not hearken to peace.”*
 The observations of this sagacious Noble-

man, concerning the interest of the Papists in the King, remarkably confirm *Vittorio Siri's* assertion *, that the re-establishment or ruin of the *Roman Catholic Religion*, in the King's dominions, depended intirely on his Majesty's fortune. And if, as Dr. *Heylin* himself acknowledges †, as early as the year 1637, " by the King's countenance, and the Queen's indulgence, the " *Papish* faction gathered not only strength, " but confidence, multiplying in some " numbers about the court, and resorting " in more open manner to the masses at " *Sqwerfet-house*, where the *Capuchins* " had obtained both a Chapel and Con- " vent;" it is scarce to be doubted, but that their zeal for his Majesty during his troubles, as well as upon all former occasions, must have given them a formidable ascendant upon his re-establishment. Lord *Clarendon* concurs with Dr. *Heylin*, with regard to the state of Popery in *England*, before

* Non poteva ire in fascio la Regalità in *Inghilterrà*, che non fortuneggiasse la religione Cattolica in quei regni, oue il suo ristabilimento ò la sua totale rouina era subordinata assolutamente al ristabilimento ò alla rouina del Re *Britannico*. Tom. VIII. p. 461.

† Life of Archbishop *Laud*, Part II. B. IV. p. 337.

before the meeting of the Long Parliament; and his description would have almost suited the reign of King *James II.*

“ The Papists, *says he* *, had for many
 “ years enjoyed a great calm, being upon
 “ the matter *absolved* from the severest
 “ parts of the law, and *dispensed* with for
 “ the gentlest, and were grown only a
 “ part of the revenue, without any pro-
 “ bable danger of being made a sacrifice
 “ to the law. They were looked upon as
 “ *good subjects at court*, and as good neigh-
 “ bours in the country; all the restraints
 “ and reproaches of former times being
 “ forgotten. But they were not prudent
 “ managers of this prosperity, being too
 “ elate and transported with the *Protection*
 “ and *Countenance* they received. Tho’ I
 “ am persuaded, their numbers increased
 “ not, their pomp and boldness did, to
 “ that degree, that, as if they affected to
 “ be thought dangerous to the state, they
 “ appeared more publicly, entertained and
 “ urged conferences more avowedly, than
 “ had been before known. They re-
 “ sorted at common hours to the mass,
 U 3 “ to

“ to *Somerſet-houſe*, and returned thence in
 “ great multitudes, with the ſame bare-
 “ facedneſs, as others came from the
 “ *Savoy* or other neighbour churches.
 “ They attempted, and ſometimes ob-
 “ tained Proſelytes of weak uninformed
 “ ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as pro-
 “ voked the rage, and deſtroyed the
 “ charity of great and powerful families,
 “ which longed for their ſuppreſſion.
 “ They grew not only ſecret contrivers,
 “ but public profeſſed promoters of, and
 “ miniſters in the moſt odious and the
 “ moſt grievous projects ; as in that of
 “ ſoap, formed, framed, and executed by
 “ almoſt a corporation of that religion ;
 “ which, under that licence and notion,
 “ might be, and were ſuſpected to be, *qua-*
 “ *liſied* for other agitations. The Priests,
 “ and ſuch as were in orders, (orders, that
 “ in themſelves were puniſhable by death)
 “ were departed from their former mo-
 “ deſty and fear, and were as willing to
 “ be known as to be hearkened to ; inſo-
 “ much as a Jeſuit at *Paris*, who was
 “ coming for *England*, had the boldneſs
 “ to viſit the Embaſſador there, who knew
 “ him .

" him to be such, and offering his service
 " acquainted him with his journey, as if
 " there had been no laws there for his re-
 " ception. And for *the most invidious pro-*
 " *tection and countenance of the whole party,*
 " a public agent from *Rome* (first Mr. Con
 " a *Scottish* man, and after him the Count
 " of *Rosetti* an *Italian*) resided at *London*
 " in great port, publicly visited the Court,
 " and was avowedly resorted to by the
 " Catholics of all conditions, over whom
 " he assumed a particular jurisdiction,
 " and was caressed and presented magni-
 " ficently by the ladies of honour, who
 " inclined to that profession. They had
 " likewise, with more noise and vanity
 " than prudence would have admitted,
 " made public collections of money to a
 " considerable sum, upon some recom-
 " mendations from the Queen, and to be
 " by her Majesty presented as a free-will
 " offering from his *Roman* Catholic sub-
 " jects to the King, for the carrying on
 " the war against the *Scots*; which drew
 " upon them the rage of that nation, with
 " little devotion and reverence to the Queen
 " herself, as if she desired to suppress the

" Protestant Religion in one kingdom as
 " well as the other, by the arms of the
 " *Roman Catholics*. To conclude, they
 " carried themselves so, as if they had been
 " suborned by the *Scots* to root out their
 " own religion." We find likewise the
 writers of that Church strongly persuaded
 of the King's favourable Sentiments of it;
 and one of their latest authors, in his
Church-history of England from the year
*1500 to the year 1688 **, affirms, that
we have good grounds to think, that his
Majesty was not so much an enemy either
to the Discipline or the Doctrine of the
Church of Rome, as many persons are, who
call themselves Protestants. He cites to
 this purpose two passages from the manu-
 script *Memoirs of Panzani*, the Pope's
 Agent in *England*, who was mentioned
 above. The first Passage is as follows:

About the year 1634, " a small piece
 " of the *Cross*, on which our Saviour suf-
 " fered, was said to be found in the Tower
 " of *London*, where it had lain concealed
 " many

* Vol. III. Part VI. Ch. I. B. I. Art. VI. p. 41.
 edite. *Brussels* [London] 1740. fol.

" many years. Some of the King's ser-
 " vants took care to have it placed in a
 " kind of box, on which they bestowed
 " some pains in the workmanship. Their
 " design was to have it exposed among
 " other curiosities. The Queen being in-
 " formed of it, appeared very much con-
 " cerned, that so remarkable a Relick
 " should not be distinguished, but lodged
 " among vulgar rarities: Wherefore ac-
 " quainting the King with it, she de-
 " sired it might be delivered to her. Her
 " design was to place it in her Chapel at
 " *Somerſet-houſe*. Neither was the King
 " well pleaſed, when he underſtood, how
 " his ſervants were going about to diſpoſe
 " of it; and at the ſame time told the
 " Queen, that *as no one had a greater*
 " *value for things of that nature than*
 " *himſelf*, ſo he would take care, that it
 " it ſhould neither be an object of deriſion
 " nor of curioſity." The other paſſage in
Pauzani is to this effect: " One of the
 " King's preachers having vehemently de-
 " claimed againſt *Schiſm*, his Maſteſty being
 " preſent, the King was afterwards heard
 " to ſay, that *he would willingly have*
 " parted

“ parted with one of his hands, that a
 “ schism had not happened. Upon which
 “ one of the courtiers, who was ac-
 “ customed to be familiar with his Ma-
 “ jesty, desired him to talk softly, for
 “ such speeches were very dangerous. The
 “ King replied immediately, *I say it again,*
 “ *I wish I had lost one of my hands, that no*
 “ *such schism had ever happened.* Some
 “ were pleased to understand his Majesty
 “ of the *puritanical* defection from the
 “ church by law established: but the
 “ manner of delivering himself, and the
 “ circumstance of his falling immediately
 “ into a *panegyric* of *Pope Urban VIII.* was
 “ by others thought to be a comment to
 “ his discourse.” The Popish historian sub-
 joins a third passage from Mr. Collier’s *Ec-*
clesiastical History *, which, he observes,
 gives us his Majesty’s opinion, as to the capital
 controversy between the two churches, that
 of *England* and *Rome*. While his Majesty
 was detained in the *Scottish* army, he was
 attacked by *Alexander Henderson*, a learn-
 ed Presbyterian minister of that nation,
 who objected to the Church of *England*,

* Vol. II. B. IX. p. 846.

as still standing in need of a farther reformation; which he engaged to make out from the *Scriptures*. Now the King in his answer tells *Henderson*, that notwithstanding the pretended defects in the *English* reformation, both those and all other controversies were to be referred to another kind of tribunal, than the Scripture expounded by private heads. "The King," says Mr. *Collier*, for settling the sense "of controverted places in Scripture," had appealed to the practice of the "primitive Church, and the general consent of the Fathers: That *Henderson* ought either to submit to the authority of these judges, or find out better: That he has done neither, nor yet shewn how, by declining these authorities, the mischief of interpreting Scripture by a private spirit can be prevented." Again *, "Since no prophecy or Scripture is of private interpretation, his Majesty infers, First, That Scripture is to be interpreted. Secondly, That the Catholic Church being the surest guide, and the most public authority, ought to be

* Ibid. Vol. II. B. IX. p. 848.

“ be *appealed to*, when the meaning of
 “ the Holy Ghost is contested. — And
 “ thus since the King and *Henderson* differ
 “ about the *meaning* of *Scripture*, his
 “ Majesty concludes there must be a *Rule*
 “ or a *Judge* between them, to give force
 “ to their proofs, to make their argu-
 “ ments bear, and put an end to the con-
 “ troversy.”

XII. THE King's inclination to employ
 an army of *Irish* Papists appeared as early
 as the breaking out of the war with *Scot-*
land in 1638. For it is evident from the
second volume of the letters and dispatches
of Thomas Earl of Strafford, that his
 Majesty gave at that time orders to the
 Earl of *Antrim*, a man, says Lord *Clar-*
*endon**, of excessive pride and vanity, and
 of a very weak and narrow understanding,
 an *Irish* Papist, and grandson of the rebel
Tyrone, and who afterwards joined the
 rebels in *Ireland*, to raise a considerable
 body of his countrymen, and transport
 them into the Isles of *Scotland* belonging to
 the Earl of *Argyle*; which was thought
 one

* *History of the Rebellion*, Book VIII. p. 436.

one main inducement to that Earl to declare himself for the Covenanters. This employment of Lord *Antrim* seemed of such dangerous consequence to the Lord *Wentworth*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, that he remonstrated against it in several letters to the King and Secretaries of state. In a letter to secretary *Windebank*, of the 20th of *March* 1638-9, he writes thus *:

“ What sudden outrage may be apprehended from so great a number of the
 “ *native Irish, children of habituated rebels*, brought together without pay or
 “ victual, armed with our own weapons,
 “ ourselves left naked the whilst? What
 “ scandal to his Majesty's service it might
 “ be, in a time thus conditioned, to employ a *General* and a *whole Army* in
 “ a manner *Roman Catholics*? ” And in the same letter his Lordship observes †, that Lord *Antrim* had told him, “ That
 “ instantly upon the receipt of his Majesty's letter, he had sent to the *O Neiles*,
 “ *O Haras*, the *O Lurgans* (if I mistake
 “ not

* *Earl of Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 304.

† *Ibid.* p. 300.

“ not that name) the *Mac Gennises*, the
 “ *Mac Guires*, the *Mac Mabones*, the
 “ *Mac Donalds* (as many O's and *Macs*,
 “ as would startle a whole council-board
 “ on this side to hear of) and his other
 “ friends, requiring them in his Majesty's
 “ name to meet him with their forces :
 “ So as this business is now become no
 “ secret, but the common discourse both
 “ of his Lordship and the whole King-
 “ dom.” And it appears from the Earl
 of *Antrim's propositions* to the Lord De-
 puty †, that the friends, whom he expected
 to assist him, were the principal authors of
 the massacre and rebellion in *Ireland* in
 1641, viz. the Lord *Mac Gennis* and his
 uncles; the Lord *Mac Guire* and his bro-
 ther; Sir *Turlogh Mac Henry* and his chil-
 dren and grandchildren; *Mac Pbelim O Neile*
 and his brother; *Mac Artoge O Neile*;
Mac Cale O Hara, and his son and grand-
 children; *Mac Hugh Mac Mabon*. In a
 letter from the Lord Deputy to Sir *Henry*
Vane treasurer of the household, dated 16th
April 1639, his Lordship writes thus * :

“ It

† Ibid. p. 306.

* Ibid. p. 325.

“ It should seem to me (for I was not of
 “ the council) my Lord Marquis of *Ha-*
 “ *milton* and my Lord of *Antrim* had to
 “ his Majesty undertaken the business, be-
 “ fore the Earl of *Antrim*’s coming forth
 “ of *England*; consequently before *Argyle*
 “ was declared Covenanter. My Lord of
 “ *Antrim* was for his reward to have had
 “ a share of his estate. What other shares
 “ there were, any or none, in truth I
 “ know not. Now, howbeit this was
 “ carried *very secretly to us on this side*, yet
 “ *Argyle* got knowledge of it there, and
 “ certainly occasioned him to declare him-
 “ self sooner for the Covenant, than
 “ otherwise perchance he would have
 “ done.” And in a letter from the Lord
 Deputy and Council of *Ireland* to Sir
Henry Vane, of the 4th of *June*, 1639,
 we have the following passage †: “ We
 “ humbly beseech you seriously to men-
 “ tion, what *ill consequences* it might beget
 “ to his Majesty’s *affairs* here, in a time
 “ thus conditioned abroad, and wherein
 “ at home the great body of *Scottish* a-
 “ mong us is to be secured, and the in-
 “ tended

† Ibid. p. 358.

" tended Plantations are to be settled, to
 " arm so many of the *natives, mere Irish,*
 " whereof the Earl of *Antrim's* whole
 " regiments were in a manner to consist,
 " and in a great part the *sons of habi-*
 " *tuated Traitors,* or those, that, in the
 " former times of Rebellion here, have
 " been Rebels themselves, and had their
 " *hands in the innocent blood of many good*
 " *subjects,* and who once *so united* might
 " perchance prove not so well natured,
 " as to *lay down their arms,* where they
 " might espy us to be naked, without
 " weapons either to hurt them, or de-
 " fend ourselves. And we humbly con-
 " ceive, it were little less in us than
 " breach of faith and loyalty to his Ma-
 " jesty, to advise the *bringing together*
 " and *arming a people so conditioned,* or
 " not humbly to represent this great dan-
 " ger upon just reason, so well foreseen
 " and much apprehended, as well for-
 " merly as in present, by all the *English*
 " and well-affected natives in the king-
 " dom. Nay, the Earl of *Antrim* himself
 " told us at this Board, he intended to
 " send into *Spain* for some commanders
 " of

“ of the *Irish* regiments there, which we
 “ disallowed of, in regard they had spent
 “ most of their lives in the King of *Spain's*
 “ service, and being returned hither, might
 “ become the occasion of great disorders.
 “ And his Lordship spared not at this
 “ board to move me the Deputy to grant
 “ his Majesty's pardon to two persons
 “ to be employed as commanders in
 “ this expedition, who, for a most bloody
 “ murder and cruel rape barbarously com-
 “ mitted in the north of *Ireland*, even
 “ so late as I the Deputy entered into
 “ this government, escaped hence, and
 “ are now, it seems, in *Flanders*; which
 “ pardon, I confess, I denied to grant.”
 But tho' this design of the Earl of *Antrim*
 was laid aside upon the pacification with
 the *Scots* in the beginning of *June*
 1639; yet, in 1644, after he had been
 deeply concerned with the *Irish* rebels,
 he had the dignity of Marquis conferred
 upon him, and was commissioned by the
 King to transport a body of them into
 the *Highlands of Scotland* for the assistance
 of the Earl of *Montrose*. And it is re-
 markable, that tho' the Earl of *Strafford*

remonstrated with such strength and vivacity against an *Irish* army under the conduct of Lord *Antrim*; yet in 1640 he raised himself an army in *Ireland* of 8000 foot and 1000 horse, additional to the veteran forces, and designed, says Mr. Cox *, “ to subdue the rebels in “ *Scotland, and awe the mutineers in* “ *England*; but being mostly *Papists*, “ who were thereby trained to the use “ of arms, this army was so offensive to “ all moderate and thinking Protestants, “ that it brought great disrepute and pre- “ judice to the King’s affairs, and in the “ end cost the Lord his Lieutenant his “ head.” The two houses of Parliament in their *Declaration* of July 25th, 1643, concerning the *Irish rebellion* †, (to which *Declaration* we do not find that his Majesty ever returned any answer) complain of this in very high terms: “ The Popish “ army, say they, was kept on foot there “ [in *Ireland*] a long time after the be- “ ginning of this Parliament to the great “ furtherance of this rebellion, by teach- “ ing

* Vol. II. p. 59.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. V. p. 346.

“ing those barbarous villains the know-
 “ledge of arms, under the notion of fight-
 “ing against *Scotland*, but now made use
 “of to extirpate both *English* and *Scots*
 “from the kingdom of *Ireland*.”

XIII. THE *Irish* rebels always professed, that they had undertaken the war, in defence of the King against his rebellious subjects of *England*. And the Popish author of the late *Church-history of England* from the year 1500 to the year 1688*, makes no scruple to affirm, that the King himself had this opinion of the Irish that were in arms, as it appeared by several undeniable proofs. He mentions to this purpose a particular, which being confirmed by an authority so unsuspected in a matter of this nature as that of *Anthony Wood*, will deserve a more peculiar attention. This eminent historian tells us, *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. Col. 702. of his own edition, anno 1692, that Sir *Edward Walker*, Secretary at war to King *Charles*, having “with great diligence
 “and observation committed to writing

X 2

“in

* Part VI. Ch. I. B. II. Art. I. p. 50.

“ in a paper book the several occurrences,
 “ that passed in the King’s army, and the
 “ victories obtained by his Majesty over
 “ his rebellious subjects, the book was
 “ seized on at the fatal battle of *Naseby*
 “ by some of the forces belonging to
 “ the Parliament, then victors. After-
 “ wards it was presented to their General
 “ called Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who peru-
 “ sing it, found one passage therein,
 “ which was very observable to him, *viz.*
 “ that whereas he (*Walker*) had taken
 “ occasion to speak of the *Irish*, and
 “ called them *Rebels*; his Majesty, who
 “ before that time had perused the book,
 “ did, among several alterations made
 “ therein with his own hand, put out the
 “ word *Rebels* with his pen, and over it
 “ wrote *Irish*. This book was, after his
 “ Majesty’s restoration, regained, and is now,
 “ or at least was lately, in the hands of Sir
 “ *John Clopton*, who married the daughter
 “ and heir of Sir *Edward Walker*.” This
 fact is likewise related in p. 45 of *Joshua*
Sprigg’s England’s Recovery, printed at
London 1647, in 4to. and in p. 105 of
Mr. William Lilly’s Monarchy or no Mo-
narchy

narchy in England, printed at London in July 1651; where, among other insinuations of King Charles's countenancing the Irish rebels, he writes thus: " Besides, " to shew his respect unto them, I know " he obliterated with his own hand the " word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish Subjects*, in a manuscript discourse written by Sir Edward Walker, and presented unto him, which I have seen " of the *Irish* rebellion, &c." Sir Edward Walker drew up an answer to Mr. Lilly, in a letter to him dated at the Hague, May 24th, 1652, but not published till the year 1705, when it was printed among his *Historical Discourses* at London in fol. In his letter * he observes, that he had drawn up, by the King's command, a discourse of his Majesty's successes in 1644, which fell into the hands of Lieutenant-General Cromwell at the battle of Naseby, but was recovered by the King two years after, while he was at Hampton-Court, who put it again into the hands of Sir Edward Walker, and he having copied it, delivered the King the copy, but kept the original,

X 3

which

* Sir Edward Walker's *Historical Discourses*, p. 228.

which he disposed of, when he left *England*. He seems to wonder, how the manuscript came to be seen by Mr. *Lilly*, except, says he, Mr. *Rushworth*, (*who, I hear, has discoursed of the same pretended emendation,*) or some other of his party shewed it you. But he protests, that he never knew, that his Majesty had made such an emendation; tho' in the contents of that discourse he owns, that his Majesty's correction of it with his own hand was to be seen in almost every page of the original, which he had by him at the drawing up those contents, on the 24th of *October*, 1664; and his producing of it at that or any other time would have been the most effectual confutation of *Lilly* and others, whose story we see repeated by *Wood*, who seems to refer to that original for the proof of it. And in fact we find in p. 47 of the printed edition of that discourse, among Sir *Edward Walker's Historical Discourses*, the *Irish* mentioned without any epithet or mark of infamy, and in a manner, that tends to extenuate their guilt. The passage relates to Lord *Inchiquin's* having joined with others in opposing

posing the *Cessation* in *Ireland*, “ of whom,
 “ *adds Sir Edward*, it may be said, that if
 “ he had been made President of *Connaught*
 “ the year before, the Protestant Religion
 “ had not been in danger in that kingdom,
 “ nor the *Irish* so wicked and infamous, as
 “ now he says they are; nor himself so
 “ great a friend to those at *Westminster*, he
 “ being assuredly one of that nation, whom
 “ in their Christian Charity they intend to
 “ extirpate, and therein to plant their best
 “ of people the *Scots*.”

XIV. THE King's great tenderness for the *Irish* Papists is testified by his son King *Charles II.* in a letter to the Duke of *Lorraine* dated *Feb. 6, 1651-2*, in which he expresses such a concern for them, and such a zeal for a *Conjunction in the Catholic Princes*, in order to the preservation of that people in the enjoyment of their religion, that one would imagine, that he had even at that time reconciled himself to the church of *Rome*. The letter is so remarkable, that a considerable extract of it will scarce be thought tedious*.

X 4

“ It

* *Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde*, p. 220, edit. *London 1722*.

" It is very true, the miseries and cala-
 " mities, which have almost overwhelmed
 " the kingdom of *Ireland*, can hardly be
 " expressed, which in a short time, if some
 " seasonable and very timely supply and
 " assistance be not applied, to stop the
 " success of our *English* rebels there, must
 " probably be concluded in the utter ex-
 " tirpation of that nation, and the *total*
 " *rooting out of the Catholic Religion*
 " *within that kingdom*; to the *free exer-*
 " *cise whereof many indulgencies and large*
 " *immunities and concessions* have been
 " granted by us, even to the *satisfaction*
 " of those who are the most *zealous pro-*
 " *motors of it*. As all those *sufferings*
 " *and afflictions* of those our *subjects*,
 " whatsoever they are, or may grow to
 " be, cannot in *the least degree* be im-
 " puted to any *fault or failing of our*
 " *blessed father*, or *ourselves*; so we have
 " left no means within our power unat-
 " tempted to remedy the same, and are
 " still ready to use our utmost endeavours
 " to procure any relief for them. But we
 " must confess, that in this sad conjuncture
 " of

“ of our affairs, which is enough known
 “ to the world, that work seems almost
 “ desperate, without some *conjunction in*
 “ *Catholic* Princes, who, for the *preserva-*
 “ *tion of that religion*, and out of com-
 “ passion to so *distressed a nation*, may
 “ administer some such *succour*, as may
 “ prevent the immediate ruin of that peo-
 “ ple, and keep the rebels from an intire
 “ possession of that kingdom, until further
 “ assistance may be applied to it. And
 “ how to procure any such conjunction,
 “ we know no way so good, or hopeful,
 “ as by the mediation and example of your
 “ Highness, who, besides several other
 “ testimonies of your great affection to us,
 “ have lately given a full evidence of your
 “ particular princely care of that people,
 “ by sending them such an ample supply
 “ and assistance, as hath hitherto (next
 “ under God) alone preserved them from
 “ being swallowed up by *their and our*
 “ *enemies*. And we are thereby especially
 “ encouraged, not only to desire your
 “ counsel by what means or ways *we our-*
 “ *selves* may best endeavour the *relief* of
 “ *our poor Catholic subjects of that king-*
 “ *dom*;

“ *dom* ; but that your Highness, by send-
 “ ing those succours you intended, will
 “ continue your goodness and favour to-
 “ wards them to that degree, that they
 “ may be sustained in a condition to con-
 “ tend with their enemies, until by *other*
 “ *Catholic assistance* (for the *procuring*
 “ whereof *nothing shall be left undone on*
 “ *our part*) they may be enabled to make
 “ a further impression upon the rebels,
 “ and to *regain* what they have *lost*.”

XV. LORD Clarendon's total silence with
 respect to the transactions of the Earl of
Glamorgan in *Ireland*, in his *History of*
the Rebellion, and his bare mention of
 him in his *Historical View of the Affairs*
of Ireland, p. 62, where he only says, that
 “ the concessions and promises made by
 “ the Earl were *disowned and disa-*
 “ *vowed by the Lord Lieutenant* before
 “ the conclusion of the peace, and the
 “ Earl committed for his presumption,”
 afford strong suspicion, that his Lordship
 thought it too tender a point to be touched
 upon ; tho' the notoriety of those transac-
 tions, in which his Majesty's character had
 been

been interested, made his Lordship's reserve the more remarkable. He owns in the *History of the Rebellion* *, that the peace made with the *Irish* did, upon the matter, provide only for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants in the King's dominions. If his Lordship by these words meant the treaty of peace concluded by the Earl of Glamorgan, Aug. 25, 1645, he fixes the imputation of that treaty upon the King, since he does not deny his Majesty's having given authority to the Earl to conclude it: And if he only means that concluded by the Marquis of Ormonde, March 28, 1646, and published on the 29th of July following, he condemns even that as inconsistent with the security of the Protestant religion.

It will not be improper to add here the authority of the noble Historian to what has been observed in the beginning of this *Inquiry*, with regard to the King's motives for making the *Cessation* with the *Irish* rebels.

* B. XI. p. 551.

bels. He tells us*, " that the King find-
 " ing by degrees, that it was not in his
 " power to compose the disturbances of
 " *England*, or to prevent those of *Scot-*
 " *land*, and abhorring the thought of in-
 " troducing a foreign nation to subdue his
 " own subjects, he began to think of ex-
 " *pedients, which might allay the distem-*
 " *pers of Ireland*; that so, having one of
 " his kingdoms in peace, he might apply
 " the power of that towards the procuring
 " it in his other Dominions. He was not
 " ignorant, *how tender an argument* that
 " business of *Ireland* was, and how pre-
 " pared men were to pervert whatsoever he
 " said, or did in it; and therefore he re-
 " solved to proceed with that caution, that
 " whatsoever was done in it, should be
 " done by the Council of that state, who
 " were understood to be most skilful in
 " those affairs."

HIS Lordship insinuates in this passage,
 that the King came not to the resolution of
 making the *Cessation* till about the end of
 the year 1643; that is, when he was sure
 that

* B. VII. p. 372.

that the *Scots* were to send an army into *England*. But this will appear to be a mistake, when it is considered, that his Majesty resolved to make the *Cessation* long before the Parliament's negotiation with *Scotland*, their Commissioners not setting out for that Kingdom till the 21st of *July**, and long before the *Scots* resolution to levy an army. For his Majesty sent the Marquis of *Ormonde* a commission to treat with the rebels for a *Cessation* on the 23d of *April*, 1643, and repeated his orders on the 3d of *May*, and 2d of *July*: and it was not till the 7th of *September*, that he mentioned as a reason for giving such orders, that an army was preparing in *Scotland* to invade *England*; which reason he would in all probability have produced before, if it had been one of the motives of his orders.

XVI. *Vittorio Siri*, Historiographer to the King of *France*, published, in the *Eighth Volume* of his *Mercurio*, printed as early as in the year 1667, the substance of what
is

* *Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles*, Ch. XV. p. 122.

is contained in the *Nuncio's Memoirs* relating to the correspondence between the King and the Earl of *Glamorgan* and the Nuncio, and inserted several of his Majesty's letters to them : And his account passed uncontradicted at that time, when it would have been easy to have confuted it, if it had been false.

XVII. FATHER *George Leyburn*, mentioned above, who was Chaplain to Queen *Henrietta Maria*, and sent as Agent from her Majesty and the Prince of *Wales* in 1647, to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, the Nuncio, the Popish Clergy, and the Confederate Catholics, in order to promote the conclusion of a peace, in the *Preface* to the *Memoirs* * of his Agency, which he drew up

* These *Memoirs* were printed at *London*, 1722, in 8vo. under the following title : *The Memoirs of George Leyburn, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Henrietta-Maria Queen of England : being a Journal of his Agency for Prince Charles in Ireland in the Year 1647 : Accompanied with original instructions and letters to the author from Prince Charles, Queen Mother, the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Digby, Lord Clanricarde, the Pope's Nuncio, &c. Published without the least alteration from the original in the author's own hand.* Mr. Carte makes not the least use or even mention of these *Memoirs* in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, and seems an absolute stranger to them. He speaks indeed, Vol. I. p. 565. of Father Leyburn as being at *Kilkenny* in Feb.

up soon after his return to *France*, in 1648, speaks of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* negotiation with *Ireland* in these terms ‡.

“ NOT

Feb. 1645-6, while the Nuncio was endeavouring to persuade the Supreme Council to wait for the Pope's peace, and represents the Father as counterworking the Nuncio. “ There was another Ecclesiastic, says he, “ likewise then at *Kilkenny* ready to do the same justice “ to the sentiments of her Majesty, who had sent him “ to use his endeavours to persuade the *Irish* to more “ moderate conditions of peace. This was *F. George Leyburn*, an *English* priest, who openly preached up “ the duty, which they owed the King, and maintained, that the Nuncio had slandered the Queen, and “ imposed on the *Irish* nation; that her Majesty neither “ had agreed, nor would consent to any such articles [as “ those of the Pope's peace]; and that the fine story “ told them about the Roman treaty was only an idle “ representation, invented to ruin his Majesty, and “ hinder the peace of the kingdom. The Nuncio was “ highly incensed against *Leyburn*, and eager to prosecute him; but he being a Missionary was exempt “ from his authority; and applying to *Rome* in aid of “ it, Cardinal *Pamphilus* told him, it was the best way “ to persuade *Leyburn* quietly to depart the kingdom.” But I cannot see, how this account is reconcilable with *F. Leyburn's Memoirs*, which take no notice of any former voyage of his into *Ireland*, and shew, that he landed there in *April* 1647; about which time *Mr. Carte* himself, Vol. I. p. 602, places the agency of *Walter Grant*, sent over by the Queen with some expedients to advance the peace; tho' without being at all sensible, that this *Walter Grant* was no other than Father *Leyburn*, who assumed that name, in order to conceal himself; as *Mr. Carte* might have seen by comparing the several letters in his 3d volume, p. 545, 546, 551, & 552, from the Queen, the Prince of *Wales*, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and Lord *Digby*, with the Father's own *Memoirs*.

‡ Preface, p. xiii.

" Not long before this, [*viz.* the de-
 " feat of General *Monro* by the *Irish*] of
 " the one side a Nuncio was come from
 " the Pope, who to that purpose had been
 " petitioned by the whole Catholic party
 " of the nation; and on the other side the
 " then Earl of *Glamorgan*, now Marquis
 " of *Worcester*, with *commission* and in-
 " structions from the King, to advance and
 " conclude a peace with the *Irish*, with
 " whom my Lord of *Ormonde* had from
 " time to time continued Cessations. Ac-
 " cordingly my Lord of *Worcester* pro-
 " ceeded so far, as he, for the King, and
 " certain Commissioners appointed for
 " that purpose by the *Irish*, concluded a
 " peace, whereby, on the one part, there
 " was a *covenant provision* made for the
 " Catholic religion, and indemnity of the
 " nation; and on the other an army of
 " *Irish* was to be levied, and sent for the
 " King's assistance into England; the con-
 " ditions of which peace were to be con-
 " cealed; the King, it seems, fearing,
 " that their untimely revealing might pre-
 " judice him with his Protestant Subjects:

" So

" So that very few copies of the original
 " being dispersed, yet it so happened, that
 " one of them was found, (as it was said)
 " in the Archbishop of *Tuam's* pocket,
 " slain by the *Scottish* forces, and sent to
 " the Parliament of *England*; which com-
 " ing to my Lord Lieutenant's knowledge,
 " the Earl of *Worcester*, ignorant of the
 " matter, was invited to *Dublin*; where
 " accused by my Lord *Digby*, the King's
 " Principal Secretary, and then present,
 " of having concluded that peace without
 " sufficient authority, he was made pri-
 " soner in the Castle of *Dublin*, and not
 " long after released upon a bail of 40000*l.*
 " to appear and answer the accusation,
 " whensoever he should be called; the
 " King in the mean time disclaiming my
 " Lord of *Worcester's* act." In another
 place *, he observes, that he had been as-
 sured by the Nuncio and the Bishop of
Glogher, esteemed one of the ablest men of the
 Irish nation †, " That no man could
 " doubt, but my Lord of *Worcester's* com-
 Y " missions

* Ibid. p. xxv, xxvi.

† Ibid. p. xxvii.

“ *missions were real, all signed with the King’s*
 “ *band and seal; in which he promised on*
 “ *the word of a King, to make good what-*
 “ *soever he should conclude; and that my*
 “ *Lord of Worcester was ready to justify,*
 “ *that he had exactly followed his instruc-*
 “ *tions, and particularly that concerning my*
 “ *Lord Lieutenant, whom he had made*
 “ *acquainted with all, that he transacted*
 “ *with the Irish, of which he could pro-*
 “ *duce proof.*” Father *Leyburn’s Memoirs*
 will likewise afford us some particulars,
 which deserve attention. In *March*
1746-7, he received his *instructions* from
 the Queen, which consisted of two sorts,
 one to be *kept private*, but in *some cases*
communicable; the others not communi-
 cable at all *. The Prince gave his appro-
 bation of all the instructions of both sorts,
 with his command to put them in execu-
 tion: And Father *Leyburn* having likewise
 received many letters from the Queen to
 the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord *Clanricarde*,
 the Lord *Digby*, the Nuncio, and the Clergy,
O Neile and *Preston*, the Generals of the
 Confederate Catholics, the Marquisses of
Worcester,

* *Memoirs*, p. 2—5.

Worcester and *Antrim*, and all the considerable persons then amongst the *Irish*, he parted from *Paris*, in his way to *Ireland*, *March* 16th, 1646-7 *. But when he came to *Orleans*, finding by letters, and also by the print from *London* sent after him, that the Marquis of *Ormonde* was deeply engaged in a treaty with the Parliament, so as possibly he might not be able to come at his Lordship at all, if *Dublin* should be surrendered before his arrival, he wrote to the Queen, desiring to know, what it was her pleasure he should then do, if that should so fall out? upon which he received an answer from her Majesty, dated at *Paris*, *March* 19th, 1647, and directing him thus: " Upon consideration of what

" you write unto us since your departure,

" we have thought fit hereby to signify

" unto you, that at your arrival in *Ireland*,

" if you find the city of *Dublin* besieged

" in such sort that you cannot have access

" to our right trusty and entirely-beloved

" Cousin, the Marquis of *Ormonde*; or

" that it be surrendered to the rebels; in

Y 2

" such

* Ibid. p. 9 & 17.

† Ibid. p. 10.

“ such case, you forbear not the present
 “ delivery of your letters to the *Nuncio*
 “ and Confederate Catholics of *Ireland*, to
 “ *whom we have written by you* : And you
 “ are to assure them for us, that as the
 “ consideration of the *Service of our dearest*
 “ *Lord the King*, and the *interest of the*
 “ *Catholic Religion*, hath continually in-
 “ clined us most passionately to desire the
 “ peace of that kingdom ; so there is
 “ *nothing*, that may *conduce therein to their*
 “ *satisfaction and security*, wherein we will
 “ not contribute our best and promptest
 “ endeavours.” Her Majesty’s Secretary
 wrote also the same day a letter to Father
Leyburn, in these words * : “ I send you
 “ herewith an answer of your letter to her
 “ Majesty, whereby you will receive full
 “ light and satisfaction of what you write.
 “ And by her *special command* I am to
 “ advise you, to *make all fitting applica-*
 “ *tion*, both to the *Nuncio*, and others
 “ the *most considerable persons amongst the*
 “ *Clergy*, to possess them with a real be-
 “ lief of her Majesty’s *cordial and affec-*
 “ *tionate intentions to comply with*, and
 “ *further*

† Ibid. p. 11.

“ *further on her part, whatsoever may*
 “ *set forward the happy settlement of that*
 “ *kingdom, to their satisfaction and se-*
 “ *curity in point of religion ; which be-*
 “ *ing her chiefest aim, and sufficiently pro-*
 “ *vided for, her Majesty expects, in the*
 “ *winding up of that bottom, those fit-*
 “ *ting regards towards his Majesty’s affairs*
 “ *and present condition, as may justify*
 “ *to her and the world, the Merits of*
 “ *their public professions and proceedings.*
 “ Her Majesty will be very sensible of par-
 “ ticular deservings in this kind, and re-
 “ sent them with the uttermost effects of
 “ her *Favour or Mediation for their de-*
 “ *sires, &c.*” About the latter end of
March, Father *Leyburn* embarked at
Nantes, and about six or seven days after
 landed at *Waterford*, and went to the Su-
 preme Council at *Kilkenny*; and having
 waited on the Lord Lieutenant at *Dublin*,
 returned to *Kilkenny*, where he delivered
 the Queen’s letter to the Nuncio and
 Clergy, the Marquisses of *Worcester* and
Antrim, &c.* and in *June* he had an au-
 dience of the Supreme Council, in which

Y 3

he

* Ibid. p. 11—17.

he represented, among other things, what follows * : “ That the King, my master, “ being in that condition, as they did “ well know, *had given the Queen and “ Prince of Wales power to treat and “ conclude in the business of Ireland ; who, “ accordingly, had been pleased, not only “ to send me with letters and instructions “ to my Lord Lieutenant, but also with “ letters to all the principal persons and “ corporate towns amongst them ; where- “ by they might see the real intentions of “ the Queen and Prince, to contribute all “ that lay in their power to such a peace, “ as might be for the King’s service, and “ good of the nation, and particularly of “ the Queen, for advantage of Catholic “ Religion.” But his hopes of success in Ireland being ruined, by the great defeat of the Catholic army, under General *Preston*, at *Dungan-hill*, on the 8th of *August*, 1647, he resolved to return to *France* ; which, having received the Queen’s leave, he accordingly did in *March* following †.*

XVIII. IT

† Ibid. p. 32, 33.

* Ibid. p. 60, 61.

XVIII. IT will not be impertinent to our purpose, to add here a copy of a very extraordinary letter, which shews the prodigious confidence, that the King placed in Lord *Glamorgan's* father, *Henry*, first Earl, and in 1643 created Marquis of *Worcester*; who, tho' a most zealous Papist, yet was not prevented by his religion from being intrusted by his Majesty, in so critical a year as 1640, with the post of Lord Lieutenant and Commander in chief in *South Wales*; a post, which was afterwards held by his son, the Earl of *Glamorgan*. This letter was written by Sir *Francis Windebank*, Secretary of State, about *Easter* that year, to the Earl of *Pembroke*, then Lord Chamberlain, and was published by Mr. *Prynne* * from the *original draught* in that Secretary's own hand, as follows:

“ HIS Majesty being *well inclined* to
 “ employ the Earl of *Worcester* in *some*
 “ *particular service best known* to himself
 “ in *South Wales*, being *most confident* of
 “ his *loyalty, duty, and good affection* to
 Y 4 “ his

* Hidden works of darkness, p. 305, 306.

“ his *Person* and Service, hath thought fit
 “ to acquaint your Lordship therewith,
 “ considering the great power and interest
 “ your Lordship hath in those parts; and
 “ *hath commanded* me, in *his name*, to
 “ signify his pleasure to your Lordship,
 “ that you give speedy and effectual orders
 “ to all your principal officers, tenants,
 “ and dependants, and such others, as have
 “ relation to you; that *as soon* as the said
 “ Earl shall produce *any commission* or *au-*
 “ *thority* from his Majesty for the per-
 “ formance of *any service* in those parts,
 “ they fail not to obey his Lordship in all
 “ such things, as, by virtue of such power
 “ given him by his Majesty, he shall re-
 “ quire and command. This his Majesty
 “ expects your Lordship shall do with ex-
 “ pedition, to the end, your officers there
 “ may be the better prepared, whensoever
 “ the said Earl shall exercise *any such com-*
 “ *mission from his Majesty*, that so his Ma-
 “ jesty's service may not suffer. His Ma-
 “ jesty hath already signified his pleasure
 “ to the *Lord President of the Marches*,
 “ to this effect, who hath yielded all
 “ obedience and conformity thereunto;
 “ and

“ and his Majesty is confident, that in that
 “ your Lordship, and those who have re-
 “ lation to you, will give place to none.”

THIS commission was afterwards ordered to be brought into the House of Commons, as of a dangerous tendency.

I HAVE now laid before the reader an ample state of the Facts relating to the question before us, with some Observations, that may assist him in determining upon them. And as I have studiously avoided urging the authority of those writers, who were known to be prejudiced against the King, as particularly that of General *Ludlow*, in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 163, so I have not thought myself obliged to introduce the mere unsupported opinions of the writers of the opposite party, as Sir *William Dugdale*, who erroneously tells us *, that “ his Majesty caused the Lord *Herbert* (then called Earl of *Glamorgan*) for his misdemeanor in *Ireland*, to be arrested upon suspicion of “ treason, and imprisoned ;” since it is certain,

* Short View of the late Troubles in *England*, p. 205.

tain that his Majesty knew nothing of his Lordship's being *arrested* and *imprisoned*, till some time after, when he was informed of it by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of *Ireland*, who had committed him to prison.

BUT before I conclude, it will be necessary to take notice of a passage, which I have met with since the printing of the greatest part of this *Inquiry*, in the reverend author of the *Impartial Examination of the third volume of Mr. D. Neale's history of the Puritans* *. He observes, " that the
 " Earl of Glamorgan's Chaplain, or Secretary, a *Romish* Priest, *forged* them
 " [his Lordship's commissions] *probably* ;
 " for the style and manner of them betray the forgery. And what confirms
 " this the more, he would never produce
 " the *Originals* to *any body* but the *Nuncio*,
 " and some of *his particular friends* in
 " the Supreme Council. He gave the
 " Nuncio copies of them, but no originals, except of a *French* letter in the
 " King's name, pretended to be dated at
 " *Oxford, April 30th, 1645, (i. e. after*
 " the

* P. 223, in the note.

“ the Earl of *Glamorgan* had left *Oxford*,
 “ and the King knew not *probably* where
 “ he was.) Of this letter the writer of
 “ the *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 2212, (as the
 “ Reverend Mr. *Carte* informs us *, who
 “ has printed these *Memoirs*, which are in
 “ the Lord *Lovel's* library) says, that he had
 “ the *Autographon* before him, and knew it
 “ to be the hand of the Secretary, who was
 “ no fool, and also wrote a great many of
 “ the other papers, that passed between
 “ the Earl of *Glamorgan* and the Nuncio,
 “ generally in *Latin* or *Italian*, which
 “ that Secretary understood much better
 “ than he did the *French*; so that, as the
 “ Nuncio says in his letters to the court
 “ of *Rome*, *Glamorgan* had no powers
 “ but what consisted in blank sheets which
 “ had no force in law to oblige the King.
 “ If his Majesty had wrote his name in a
 “ blank in *England*, the letter itself was
 “ certainly wrote in *Ireland*. This un-
 “ doubted forgery proves plainly, that the
 “ person, who was guilty of it, would
 “ not

* Mr. *Carte* says nothing of what follows in his
Life of the Duke of Ormonde.

"not *probably* have scrupled any other." Upon these words, I shall make a few remarks.

1. IT is affirmed, that the Earl of *Glamorgan* would never produce the originals [of his commissions] to any body but the *Nuncio* and some of his particular friends in the *Supreme Council*. He gave the *Nuncio* copies of them, but no original, except of a French letter in the King's name. But for this assertion no authority is alledged; and on the contrary, we find * that his Lordship produced the original warrant of the 12th of January, 1644-5, to the Marquis of *Ormonde* on the 6th of January, 1645-6, and the next day sent the Marquis a copy of it, written with his own hand, and attested with his name; which copy the Marquis sent to the King; but Mr. *Carte* does not inform us what answer his Majesty gave concerning it. The original of the commission of *March* 12th, 1644-5, was likewise deposited by the Earl himself with the *Supreme Council* of *Kilkenny* †.

2. IT

* *Carte*, Vol. I. p. 554.

† See above, p. 107.

2. IT is urged, as an improbability, against the King's letter to the Nuncio, that it is dated on the 30th of *April*, 1645, *after the Earl of Glamorgan had left Oxford, and the King knew not probably where he was.* But it is much more probable, that the King knew where his Lordship was, since there appears to have been a correspondence between them after his Lordship left *Oxford*; the *Earl's instructions* to a person, who subscribed himself *Edward Bosden, to be presented to his Majesty*, dated *March 21, 1644-5*, being found in his Majesty's cabinet taken at *Naseby**.

3. THE writer of the Nuncio's *Memoirs* is indeed of opinion, that the body of the King's letter to the Nuncio of the 30th of *April*, 1645, was in the hand-writing of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Secretary, tho' signed by the King himself. But supposing this writer not mistaken in the hand-writing, it does not follow from thence, that the letter was an *undoubted forgery*, since it might be written by order of
of

* The King's Cabinet opened, p. 19. See above, p. 56, 57.

of the King, who indisputably signed it, or by directions of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, authorized by his Majesty. This Secretary might not improbably be the person, who was sent to the King by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, after he left *Oxford*, to manage his affairs, and to put his Majesty in mind of the Earl's commission, and who subscribed the instructions above mentioned by the name of *Edward Bosden*.

4. IT is asserted, that "the Nuncio says, in his letters to the Court of Rome, *Glamorgan* had no powers but what consisted in blank sheets, which had no force in law to oblige the King." These words seem to imply, that the Nuncio had repeated this in several letters; whereas the writer of his *Memoirs* only says*, what he tells us he was amazed at himself, "that the Nuncio informed Pope Innocent X. that the Lord *Glamorgan*'s whole authority consisting of blank sheets, and concessions signed and sealed with the King's

* De quo *Stupeco*, quod ipsi singulariter intimus recensuit *Innocentio X.* Nuncius: "Non poterat (inquit) sterni fundamentum facultas *Glamorgano* concessa, quæ tota consistebat in foliis albis, & concessionibus sigillo Regis cubiculario & privato signatis, quibus sua Majestas non poterat legitimè obligari."

“ King’s chamber and private seal, his Majesty could not, *according to law*, be bound by them.” We see here are mentioned *Concessions signed and sealed with the King’s chamber seal*, as well as *blank sheets*; and the Nuncio does not question the *reality* of his Lordship’s authority, but only its *legal validity*: And it is observable, that this writer does not inform us of the date of this letter of the Nuncio; which perhaps might be written before he had received full satisfaction from the Earl, or while they differed about the peace, which the Earl had concluded in *August 1645*, which the Nuncio did not think honourable or secure enough. And it is remarkable, that Father *Leyburn*, in the *Preface** to his *Memoirs*, tells us, that upon his urging, in 1647, to the Nuncio and Bishop of *Fernes* as an objection, which he had heard made to the force of the commissions given to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, that *they were all, or for the most part, blanks*, their answer was †, “ That no man can doubt, “ but the Earl’s commissions were *real*, all “ signed with the King’s hand and seal, in “ which he promised, on the word of a “ King,

* P. xxii.

† Ibid. p. xxv.

“ King, to make good whatsoever he should
 “ conclude; and that his Lordship was
 “ ready to justify, that he had *exactly fol-*
 “ *lowed his instructions.*”

5. BUT supposing, tho' without any grounds for it, that some, or even all, of the Earl's commissions might be *blanks* signed and sealed by the King, to be filled up by his Lordship; we may judge of the nature and force of such blanks from those, which Father *Leyburn* carried from the Queen and Prince of *Wales* in *March* 1646-7, to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, as appears from the following *private instructions* to that Father *. “ I. You
 “ shall deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of
 “ *Ireland fourteen blanks*, now given into
 “ your possession by Us and the Prince;
 “ two whereof are jointly signed by Us and
 “ the Prince; six others are signed by Us
 “ alone, and the other six by the Prince
 “ alone. II. You shall acquaint the Lord
 “ Lieutenant, that We and the Prince do
 “ authorize and appoint him, to *fill up*
 “ all the said *blanks in such manner*, and
 “ to *such purpose*, and with *such contents*,
 “ as he shall think *most proper* for the ser-
 “ *vice*

* *Leyburn's Memoirs*, p. 5, 6.

“ *vice* of our dearest Lord *the King* in his
 “ *Irish* affairs: And you shall assure him,
 “ the said Lord Lieutenant, that as we and
 “ the Prince repose this trust and confi-
 “ dence in him, that he shall make *such*
 “ *use* of them, *as he shall think fit*, for the
 “ advancement of the Peace of *Ireland*;
 “ so will both of us, at all times *avow* and
 “ *justify* those *instruments so to be filled*
 “ *up* by him, as *our own acts*, and as done
 “ by our particular directions and com-
 “ mand. III. You shall more particularly
 “ acquaint the Lord Lieutenant from Us
 “ and the Prince, that if in the treaty of
 “ the peace, or in the conclusion thereof,
 “ he desires to be assisted with any further
 “ authority, grounded upon any letters
 “ sent to him from the King, or otherwise
 “ in our power; then we desire him, the
 “ said Lord Lieutenant, to *fill up the*
 “ *blanks* signed by Us or the Prince, or
 “ any other of the said blanks signed either
 “ by Us or the Prince, with such authority
 “ from Us, or from Us and the Prince, or
 “ from the Prince only; in such manner, as
 “ *he shall find most proper and conducing to*
 “ *such a peace.*” Now if the Earl of Gla

morgan received with his blank commissions such *private instructions* as these, containing full powers for filling up those blanks, as he should think proper; and if, as the Nuncio and Bishop of *Fernes* assured F. *Leyburn*, his Lordship *was ready to justify, that he had exactly followed his instructions*; and if in fact, he did not appear in his letters to the King or others, or upon any other occasion, conscious, that he had in the least circumstance acted against the trust reposed in him by his Majesty *, what

* And indeed, excepting the case of his Majesty's disowning his Lordship's treaty with the *Irish*, upon the inconvenient publication of that treaty by an unforeseen accident, it does not appear, that he was ever censured or complained of for abusing his Majesty's authority. On the contrary, after he had left *Ireland*, and went to *Paris* in April 1648, in order to procure the post of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, from the Queen, he was well received there by Prince *Rupert*, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and Lord *Digby*, as well as by her Majesty, to whom his Lordship having delivered the Nuncio's letter, she publicly thanked his Lordship for the great Pains and expences, which he had been at for the King's and her service^a. And it is very observable, that the Lord *Digby* himself, who had charged him in so vehement a manner with the suspicion of high treason, on the 26th of *December*, 1645, speaks of him in a very different style, a little above three months after, in a letter to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, dated from *Waterford*, April 7th, 1646^b. "Here
" at

^a *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 2211.

^b *Carte*, Vol. III. N°. 441. p. 460.

what his Lordship did in conformity to such secret instructions and powers, is as much his Majesty's Act, as if himself had filled up his commissions, and not left them to be filled up by his Lordship, as the occasion should require. Or, if we take the affair upon the lowest foot, and suppose the King's instructions to be only general ones, and that his Lordship was left to his own judgment and discretion in his negotiations; yet it seems impossible to justify the employing of so bigotted a Papist, to treat at large with a nation equally, if not more bigotted, and to engage the King's honour to them, for such concessions in point of religion, as would satisfy them, and such as his Majesty was afraid to avow publicly, till he should become master of *England*, as well as of the Parliament, by the assistance of a body of men infamous

Z 2

for

“ at *Waterford*, says he, I have met with my Lord
 “ of *Glamorgan*, whom I find (as he hath reason) a
 “ very sad man, and withal highly incensed by some
 “ about him against me. But for this latter part, I
 “ believe his good nature, and the reasons, which I
 “ have given him, have well settled him in a good
 “ measure of kindness; which my Lord of *Muskerry*
 “ and the rest did think very necessary to the carrying
 “ on of business unanimously.”

for their cruelty and treachery, who, by their conjunction with the whole party of their religion in *England*, might have it in their power, as well as in their thoughts, to efface the very name of Protestantism throughout that kingdom. It is indeed amazing, that the King did not attend to such an obvious consequence, but pursued his present convenience at so great a hazard of what ought to have been most sacred to him. The course of his letters, even to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, discovers his impatience for a peace with the *Irish*, and his motives to it; and tho' there appear some inconsistencies between his private and his public letters, yet his real inclination is evident upon comparing them with each other. Thus in a letter to the Marquis of the 27th of *February*, 1644-5 *, his Majesty agrees to *the present taking off the penal laws against Papists by a law*, if the *Irish* would freely and vigorously engage themselves in his assistance; tho' in a letter of the 31st of *July* following †, he seems willing to leave things

* *Carte*, Vol. III. N°. 370. p. 388.

† *Ibid.* N°. 400. p. 418, 419.

things to the *Chance of war*, rather than to give his consent to any such allowance of *Popery*, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which by the *Grace of God*, says he, I shall ever maintain through all extremities. And as this letter did him honour, he referred to it in one to Prince *Rupert*, from the same place, on the 3d of *August*, 1645 *, wherein he says, *I am sending to Ormonde such a dispatch, as I am sure, will please you and all honest men.* But, after all, we find another letter of his Majesty to the Marquis of the 22d of *October* following †, written in a very peremptory style for concluding the peace. “ I find, “ *says he*, by your’s to *Digby*, that you “ *are somewhat cautious* not to conclude “ the peace without at least the *concur-* “ *rence of the Council* there; which if “ you could procure, I confess, it would “ be so much the better; and therefore “ I have sent herewithal another letter “ to you, to be communicated to them, “ which *takes off those restrictions*, that “ I laid formerly upon you in a *public* letter.

* Ibid. N°. 403. p. 422.

† Ibid. N°. 411. p. 432.

" letter. But the *Irish Peace* is of *such*
 " *absolute necessity*, that no compliments
 " or particular respects whatsoever must
 " hinder it. Wherefore I *absolutely com-*
 " *mand you (and without reply)* to exe-
 " cute the directions I sent you the 27th
 " of *February* last, giving you leave to get
 " the *approbation of the Council*, so as,
 " and no otherwise, that by seeking it you
 " do not *bazard the peace*, or so much
 " as an affront by their *foolish refusing* to
 " concur with you; promising upon the
 " word of a King, that if God prosper
 " me, you shall be so far from receiving
 " any prejudice by doing *this so necessary*
 " *a work, tho' alone*, that I will accompt
 " it as one of the chiefest of your great
 " services to me, and accordingly you shall
 " be thought upon by yours, &c."

6. Mr. *Carte's* hypothesis of the Earl
 of *Glamorgan's* and his Secretary's ready
 talents in forgery, exercised for a course of
 many months, and yet attended with such
 good fortune, as never to be detected till
 the present age, will scarce be thought
 sufficient to account for such a complex
 and

and coincidence of facts, founded upon distinct and independent authorities, as are now laid before the public. But if any new evidence can be produced to shew, that King *Charles* I. neither authorized, nor was privy to, nor connived at the proceedings of that Earl, I shall with the utmost readiness submit to the force of truth, which ought to be the chief aim of every writer ; and the want of the strictest regard to it in an Historian, in particular, transforms him into the most criminal of Impostors. ✓



and confidence of every honest man
and independent politician, as the
most just basis of action. But if any
other course can be devised to show
that King Charles's position authorized
her was given or not, remained a question
concerning the fact that I shall with the
best of reasons submit to the decision of
the public, which ought to be the final arbiter of
every matter; and the want of the British
regard to it as an historical, in particular
consequence than into the most criminal of
loyalists.



A N

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

Inquiry into the share, which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Marquis of Worcester, for bringing over a body of Irish rebels to assist that King, in the years 1645 and 1646. In which Appendix are now published several letters of the King to the Earl of Glamorgan, from the originals in the Harleian library of manuscripts.

AT the close of the *Inquiry* I declared, that if any new evidence could be produced to shew, that King Charles I. neither authorised, nor was privy to, nor connived at the proceedings of the Earl of Glamorgan with the Irish rebels, I should with the utmost readiness submit to the force of truth, which ought to be the chief aim of every writer. It is now above

A a

seven

seven years and an half since the publication of that book *, which has hitherto received not the least answer to any part of it; though Mr. *Carte*, whose character as an historian was brought into question by it, frequently assured his friends, that he would give a thorough confutation of it. An advertisement indeed, imputed to him, appeared in the *Gazetteer* of *Wednesday February 6, 1754*, and in the *London Evening Post* of *Saturday the 23d* of that month, in the following terms:

“ *Shortly will be published,*
 “ THE CASE of the ROYAL MAR-
 “ TYR considered with candour; wherein,
 “ amongst other libels upon his Majesty, a
 “ treatise, intituled, *An Inquiry into the share,*
 “ *which King Charles I. had in the trans-*
 “ *actions of the Earl of Glamorgan, &c.* is
 “ examined; and the chief positions and
 “ insinuations of that author shewn to be
 “ weak, groundless, and utterly incon-
 “ sistent with the character of a critic or a
 “ scholar.”

WHAT

* It was published *May 14, 1747*; and I write this *Appendix January 16, 1755*.

WHAT *candour* might have been expected from that writer, may be judged of, both from his other performances, and from his giving the name of *libel* to a discourse drawn up with the utmost moderation of style, as well as fidelity in the representation of facts. And how little additional evidence would have been produced by him upon this subject, is evident from his pretending only *to shew*, that my chief *positions* and *insinuations*, as he is pleased to describe a detail of facts supported by the best authorities, and a few clear observations deduced from them, are *weak, groundless, and utterly inconsistent with the character of a critic or a scholar*; as if the question was not a point of history, but of mere criticism or literature. But the book thus advertised was never published, either before or since Mr. *Carte's* death on the 2d of *April*, 1754, near two months after the first advertisement; nor can I find, upon the strictest examination, that any such piece was in the press, or even prepared for it.

MR. *Guthrie*, whose third volume of his history was published in 1751, takes no manner of notice of the *Inquiry*, which had then seen the public light four years; but in a very imperfect account, which he gives of the affair of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, contained in less than a quarter of a page*, first stiles his lordship's authority from the King a *pretended one*; and then affirms, that “*in the whole of the negotiation there were such intricacies and inconsistencies, as ought to have rendered it very doubtful, whether Glamorgan had such a power as he pretended from Charles, who loudly disclaimed it.*”

MR. *Hume*, the latest of our historians, preserves the same silence concerning the *Inquiry*; and in the first volume of his *General History of Great-Britain*, p. 412. where he remarks, that King *Charles I.*'s *veracity*, in disowning his having given any authority to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, is to this day by some historians very much called

* Book III. p. 1157.

called in question, he declares for the supposition of the forgery of his lordship's commission. But in support of this notion this ingenious writer contents himself with a repetition of Mr. *Carte's* assertions and reasonings, which had been examined and confuted in a book, which from the subject of it, and the course of Mr. *Hume's* historical researches, could scarce have escaped his knowledge.

NOR has the *Inquiry* only passed hitherto unimpeached in its credit in the smallest article, but it has likewise received new confirmation from evidence of the strongest kind, by the discovery of several original letters of king *Charles I.* himself to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, in the Harleian library of manuscripts, purchased in 1753 by the Parliament, and intended to be part of the British Museum. These letters are proper to be laid before the public, in justice to it, and to myself; and shall therefore be inserted, with some other additional facts and remarks, in this *Appendix*, with references to the respective pages of the *Inquiry*, to which they relate.

Inquiry, p. 15, l. 4, instead of the sentence beginning [This Earl, &c.] insert what follows :

This Earl, though a zealous Roman Catholic, or *ter-Catholicus*, as he is stiled in the Nuncio's Memoirs *, and acknowledged by Lord Clarendon † to be of *that sort of Catholics*, which was *accused to be most Jesuited*, had a great share of the King's esteem and confidence ; as is evident from three letters of his Majesty to him, written as early as the years 1641 and 1642, never yet printed ; the originals of which are extant in the valuable collection of manuscripts above mentioned. The first of them ‡ is dated soon after the King's return from *Scotland*, towards the end of *November 1641*, and before his retreat to *Hampton-court*.

“ *Herbert §,*

“ **Y**OURS of the first of *December* has
“ given me a just reason for your
absence :

* P. 712.

† History of the rebellion, B. VI. p. 286.

‡ Harleian library, Prefs 161, c. 3, fol. 66.

§ He was then only Lord Herbert of Ragland.

" absence : But certainlie I have juster
 " cause to requyre your attendance ; for
 " it is well known, how that you ar to
 " give me account of matters, *not onlie for*
 " *my owen particular use, but lykewais for*
 " *the good of the kingdome.* Wherefor I
 " requyre your repaire hither with all
 " convenient diligence ; and the rather,
 " that you may the better fynde out the
 " authors of those lying and scandalous
 " pamphlets concerning your father and
 " you ; touching which I not onlie pro-
 " mise you protection to your innocencie,
 " but justice against those offenders, as-
 " seuring you lykewais, that I shall be so
 " myndfull of you, that, if I live, you
 " shall neither be a looser in, nor repent
 " you for, the services you have done
 " me. And so I rest

" *Your assured frend,*

Whythall,

" Charles R.

the 11th of December 1641.

" I send you heerin the paper, that I
 " could not fynde, when ye was last
 " with me."

THE next letter was written upon the King's arrival at *Royston*, in his journey towards the north.

" *Herbert* *,

" **Y**OUR services ar expressed to me
 " in so noble a way, that I cannot
 " but acknowled it to you under my
 " owen hand, and that I shall *thinke my-*
 " *selfe very unhappie*, if I did not live, by
 " *reall testimonies, to expresse my gratitud to*
 " *you*. For the *blankes*, I have sent them
 " according to your desyre: And for
 " your sister *Carnarvan* †, though I can-
 " not punctuallie answer your expectation
 " therein, yet I hope you will be satisfied
 " with the answer you will receive by
 " your cousin Sir *John Biron*; to whom
 " referring myselfe for manie things I have
 " not tyme to write, I rest

" *Your most asseured constant frend,*

" *Charles R.*"

Royston, 6th March 1641.

HIS

* Harl. libr. ubi supra, fol. 67.

† Lord *Herbert's* first wife was *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *William Dormer*, Knt. and sister to *Robert Earl of Carnarvan*.

HIS Majesty wrote his third letter not long before he was denied entrance into *Hull*.

" *Herbert* *,

" **I** Intrusted your cousin *Biron* with the particular answers to your letter ;
" reserving only to mysele to assure you,
" that I esteeme your *services such, as my*
" *words cannot expresse them*, but by shewing mysele at all occasions to be

" *Your most assured constant friend,*

" *Charles R.*"

Yorke, 9th May 1642.

UPON the breaking out of the war between the King and Parliament, his Lordship was appointed by the former lieutenant-general of South-Wales, Monmouthshire being added to his commission † ; a post with which his father had been entrusted by his Majesty in the year 1640 ‡ . The granting of such a commission to Lord *Herbert* had been objected to by many of the

* Harl. libr. ubi supra, fol. 68.

† *Clarendon*, p. 286.

‡ *Inquiry*, p. 327.

the King's friends; but their objections were over-ruled by other considerations; his Lordship having engaged to raise such a strength of horse and foot, and to provide such an equipage to march with it, that might reduce *Gloucester*, and be then added to the King's army, when he should be ready to take the field; and all this so much at his own charge, (for his father, who was well able, would furnish money, upon the King's promise to repay him when he should be restored to his own) that he would receive no part of the King's revenue, or of such money, as his Majesty would be able to draw for the supply of his own more immediate occasions. His Lordship, in consequence of this commission, raised a body of 1500 foot, and 500 horse, at the expence of above 60000 l. a considerable part of which was advanced by his father, and the rest most probably from the general contributions of the *Roman Catholics* *. But these forces having laid siege to *Gloucester*, were soon defeated by Sir *William Waller*, while
 Lord

* *Clarendon*, p. 287, 288.

Lord Herbert was at Oxford with the King *.

HIS Lordship had married to his second wife, &c. [*Inquiry*, p. 16.]

Inquiry, p. 61, between the second and third paragraphs, insert,

THE King having after the battle of *Naseby*, fought on the 14th of *June*, 1645, retired to *Hereford*, and hearing of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* being gone to *Ireland*, wrote to him the following letter; which shews what expectations he had of succours from that kingdom by means of his Lordship's negotiations; and how pressing he was, that they might be sent to him with all possible expedition.

Hereford, 23d *June* 1645.

“ † *Glamorgan*,

“ I Am glad to beare, that you ar gone to
“ *Ireland*; and asseure you, that as
“ myselfe is no wais dishartened by our
“ late

* *Idem*, p. 287. This action happened on the 24th of *March*, 1642-3; as appears from Mr. *John Corbet's* Historical relation of the military government of *Gloucester*, p. 28, 29. edit. *London* 1645, in 4to.

† Harl. lib. of manuscripts, 161, c. 3, 112.

" late misfortune, so nether this country :
 " for I could not have expected more
 " from them, than they have now freely
 " undertaken, though I had come hither
 " absolute victorius ; which makes me
 " hope well of the nighbouring sheeres.
 " So that (by the grace of God) I hope
 " shortly to recover my late losse with
 " advantage, *if such succours come to me*
 " *from that kingdome, which I have reason*
 " *to expect.* But the circumstance of tyme
 " is that of *the greatest consequence* ; being
 " that, which is now chiefliest and ear-
 " nestliest *recomended to you by*

" *Your most assured constant frend,*

" Charles R."

Inquiry, p. 134, after the end of the first paragraph, insert,

THREE days after the date of these letters, the King wrote the following one to the Earl himself:

" * *Glamorgan,*

" I Must clearly tell you, bothe you and
 " I have been abused in this business ;
 " for

" for you have beene drawn to consent
 " to conditions much beyond your in-
 " structions, and *your treaty hath beene di-*
 " *vulged to all the world.* If you had ad-
 " vyfed with my Lord Lieutenant (as you
 " promised me), all this had beene helped.
 " But we must looke forward. Wherfor,
 " in a word, I have commanded as much
 " favor to be shoven to you, as may
 " possibly stand with *my service or safety*;
 " and if you will yet trust *my advyce*
 " (which I have commanded *Digby* to
 " give you freely), *I will bring you so off,*
 " that you may be *still usefull to me*; and
 " I shall be able to *recompence you for your*
 " *affection*: If not, I cannot tell what to
 " say. But I will not dout of *your com-*
 " *plyance in this*; since it so highly con-
 " cernes the *good of all my crownes, my*
 " *owen particular*, and to make me have
 " still meanes to shew myselfe

" *Your most assured friend,*

" Charles R."

Oxford, 3d Feb. 1645.

THE King appears from this letter to have been under a deep solicitude of mind,
left

left the Earl should *not trust the advice*, which he had commanded the Lord Digby to give his Lordship, whose *compliance in that respect so highly concerned all his Majesty's crowns, and his own particular*. And that this letter was merely of the ostensible kind, and that the expressions of his Lordship's having been *drawn to consent to conditions much beyond his instructions*, were inserted only, because the letter was to pass through the hands of the Lord Digby and the Lord Lieutenant, and probably to be seen by them, is evident from a subsequent letter of the King of the 28th of the same month, written without any reserve; because his Majesty then knew, that the Earl was, or soon would be, set at liberty; and because this letter was entrusted with a safe hand, that of Sir John Winter, cousin-german to his Lordship*, a Roman Catholic†, and a great confident

* Sir John Winter was son of Sir Edward Winter of Lidney in Gloucestershire, by Anne, daughter of Edward Earl of Worcester, and sister of Henry Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Worcester, father of the Earl of Glamorgan.

† A warrant under the King's signet, dated 7th August, 1638, for exempting Sir John Winter and his

dent of the Queen, whose secretary he had been appointed about *April 1638* *.

“ † *Herbert,*

“ **I** Am confident, that this honnest trusty
 “ bearer will give you good satisfaction,
 “ why I have not in every thing done as
 “ you desyred ; *the want of confidence in you*
 “ *being so far from being the cause thereof,*
 “ *that I am every day more and more confirmed*
 “ *in the trust, that I have of you.* For, be-
 “ lieve me, *it is not in the power of any to*
 “ *make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices.*
 “ But of this, and dyverse other things,
 “ I have given Sir *John Winter* so full
 “ instructions, that I will say no more,
 “ but that I am

“ *Your most assured constant friend,*

“ *Charles R.*”

Oxford, 28th Feb. 1645.

Inquiry, p. 243, instead of the translation of the King's letter from the Latin
 in

his Lady from the laws against recusancy, is published by Prynne, in his *Popish Royal Favourite*, p. 3, edit. London 1643.

* *Strafforde's letters*, Vol. II. p. 166.

† Harl. libr. of manuscripts, 161, c. 3, 124.

in the *Nuncio's Memoirs*, insert this copy of it from the original *:

Oxford, 5th April 1646.

" Glamorgan,

*" I Have no tyme, nor doe you expect,
" that I shall make unnecessary repeti-
" tions to you. Wherfor (referring you
" to Digby † for business) this is only to
" give you assurance of my constant friend-
" ship to you; which, considering the
" general defection of comon honesty,
" is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know
" you cannot bee but confident of my
" making good all instructions and promises
" to you and the Nuncio.*

" Your most assured constant friend,

" Charles R."

THE

* Harl. libr. of manuscripts, 161, c. 3, 118.

† Lord Digby was at *Waterford* at this time; and in a letter from thence to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, dated 7th *April*, 1646, and printed in Mr. Carte's life of the Marquis, Vol. III. p. 460, writes thus: "Here at *Waterford* I have met with my Lord of *Glamorgan*, whom I find (as he hath reason) a very sad man, and highly incensed by some about him against me. But for this latter part, I believe his good-nature, and the reasons, which I have given him, have well settled him in a good measure of kindness."

THE last words printed in the Italic character, *my making good, &c.* are written in a cypher, which expresse every letter by strait strokes. This cypher, with the alphabetical key, all in the King's own hand, signed C. R. and sealed with his seal, is extant in the Harleian library of manuscripts *, and was probably sent to the Earl in another letter, dated the day after the preceding ; which is here inserted likewise from the original †.

“ *Herbert,*

“ **A** S I doute not but ye have
 “ too much courage to bee discouraged
 “ or discouraged at the *usage ‡ ye*
 “ *have had* ; so I assure you, that *my estimation*
 “ *of you is nothing diminished by it,*
 “ but rather begets in me a *desyre of re-*
 “ *venge and reparation to us bothe, (for in*
 “ *this I bould myselfe equally interested with*
 “ *you).* Wherfor, not douting of *your ac-*
 “ *customed care and industry in my service,*

B b

“ I assure

* Harl. libr. 161, c. 3, 119.

† Ibid. 120.

‡ *Losse* was first written.

" I assure you of the continuance of my
" favor and protection to you ; and that in
" deeds more than in words, I shall shew
" myself to bee

" Your most assured constant friend,

" Charles R."

Oxford, 6th April 1646.

BUT the most remarkable letter, &c.
[*Inquiry*, p. 244.]

Inquiry, p. 274, between the first and
second paragraph, insert,

THREE of the King's own letters, the
originals of which are extant, are an in-
contestible evidence of his having em-
ployed the Earl in the negotiations
with the *Irish* rebels. In that from
Hereford, of June 23, 1645, he expresses
his satisfaction upon hearing, that his
Lordship was gone to *Ireland*; and his
hopes of recovering his late loss of the
battle of *Naseby*, if such succours came to
him from that kingdom, which he had reason
to expect; earnestly recommending to him
the circumstance of time, as of the greatest
consequence. In the letter from *Oxford* of
the

the 28th of February, 1645-6, the King declares his persuasion, that the honest, trusty bearer, Sir *John Winter*, the Earl's cousin, would give him good satisfaction, why his Majesty had not, in every thing, done as his Lordship desired; the want of confidence in him being so far from being the cause thereof, that his Majesty was every day more and more confirmed in the trust, that he had of his Lordship. For the King assured him, that it was not in the power of any to make his Lordship suffer in his opinion by ill offices. In the next letter from Oxford of the 5th of April 1646, he gives his Lordship assurance of his constant friendship to him; and tells him, that he knows, that his Lordship cannot but be confident of his Majesty's making good all instructions and promises to him and the Nuncio. And in the letter written the day following, the King grew still more earnest in his declarations to his Lordship; assuring him, that as he did not doubt but his Lordship had too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage he had had, so his [the King's] estimation of him was nothing diminished by it,

but rather begat in him a desire of revenge and reparation to them both; for in this his Majesty held himself equally interested with his Lordship. “Wherefore, not
 “doubting of the Earl’s accustomed care
 “and industry in his [the King’s] Service,
 “his Majesty assured him of the conti-
 “nuance of his favour and protection to
 “him; and that in deeds, more than in
 “words, he would shew himself to be
 “his Lordship’s most assured constant
 “friend.”

Inquiry, p. 329. The King’s attachment to the counsels of the Queen and her creatures, and his constant neglect of those of the truest friends of his own and the nation’s real interests, is evident from the original letters of one of them, Sir *Edward Nicholas**, secretary of state to him, and to his son and successor; though dismissed by the latter from that post in a little more than two years after the restoration, to make room for Sir *Henry Bennet*,

* Formerly in the possession of *William Nicholas* of *West Horsley* in *Surrey*, Esq; and now in that of Sir *John Evelyn* of *Wotton*, in the same county, Baronet.

Bennet, as more compliant with the designs of the court. I shall single out a few passages from these letters. In one to Lord *Hatton*, then at *Paris*, dated *December 4, 1650*, Sir *Edward* complains, that the counsels of the *Louvre*, where Queen *Henrietta* resided, had been fatal to the crown of England. In another to the same Lord, of the 1st of *February, 1650-1*, he expresses his fears, that those counsels, which ruined the father, and brought the good and hopeful King [*Charles II.*] into the sad condition, in which he then was, would never do better. In one to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, of *March 1, 1650-1*, he observes, that for the King [*Charles II.*] "to put himself solely into the hands of those, whose counsels and conduct had been so apparently unfortunate to his blessed father and himself, was a prudence and policy, that he could not fathom." In one to Lord *Hatton*, of the 7th of *June, 1651, N. S.* he prays, that the influence of those of the *Louvre*, which would be a great discouragement to honest men, might not prove as fatal to the young King as to his father. And in another,

ther, of the 1st of *August*, 1652, N. S. he remarks, that as his late master King *Charles I.* lost all by despising of councils, and by undervaluing of counsellors; so *Queen Elizabeth* kept up her honour and esteem by the value she set on councils, and on her counsellors.

✓ BUT perhaps the most exceptionable part of *Charles I.*'s character, and what appears to have been the main source of his misfortunes, and occasion of his ruin, was his want of sincerity in all matters, in which his power and prerogative were concerned. This is too clearly proved by many public facts, to be denied by any impartial person; and might have still been more strongly evinced, if the friends to the King's memory had not taken an uncommon care to suppress such evidences, as would have discredited their panegyrics upon him. A remarkable instance of this zeal appears from a letter of *Dr. Charles Hickman* *, chaplain to *Laurence Hyde*, Earl of *Rochester*, the younger

* He died Bishop of *Londonderry*.

younger son of the Earl of *Clarendon*, and the editor of his history, This letter was written by the Doctor, at the desire of his patron, to Dr. *Thomas Sprat*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, to request that prelate's concurrence for preventing the intended publication of a collection of letters of King *Charles I.* to his Queen; which muſt have been different from thoſe taken in his cabinet at *Naſeby*, ſince the latter had not only been publiſhed by order of the Long Parliament, but likewise ſeveral times reprinted, and particularly with that King's works. But the former collection has never ſeen, nor is ever likely to ſee, the public light; as it is probable, that thoſe, who appear, from Dr. *Hickman's* letter, ſo zealous for his Maſteſty's memory, would ſacrifice to his honour what they thought ſo inconſiſtent with it. This ſuppreſſion of important facts, in favour of particular characters and parties, is little leſs criminal than the abſolute falſification of them: And ſuch a violation of one of the firſt laws of hiſtory has been the great ſource of the corruption of it,

whether civil or ecclesiastical. Dr. *Hickman's* letter is as follows * :

“ *My Lord,*

“ **L**AST week Mr. *Bennet* the Book-
 “ feller † left with me a manuscript
 “ of letters from King *Charles I.* to his
 “ Queen; and said it was your Lordship's
 “ desire and Dr. *Pelling's* ‡, that my Lord
 “ *Rocheſter* would read them over, and ſee
 “ what was *fit to be left out in the intended*
 “ *edition of them.* Accordingly my Lord
 “ has read them over; and upon the
 “ whole matter ſays, he is *very much*
 “ *amazed at the deſign of printing them;*
 “ and thinks *that King's enemies could not*
 “ *have done him a greater diſcourteſy.* He
 “ ſhewed me *many paſſages, which detract*
 “ *very much from the reputation of the*
 “ *King's prudence, and ſomething from his*
 “ *integrity;* and in ſhort he can find no-
 “ *thing*

* Harleian library of manuſcripts, 161, c. 18, fol. 189.

† The ſermon at his funeral, *Auguſt 30, 1706,* was preached by Dr. *Francis Atterbury,* and publiſhed in the ſecond volume of his Sermons.

‡ *Edward Pelling,* D. D. then Rector of *St. Martin's, Ludgate,* in *London,* and afterwards of *Petworth* in *Suffex.*

“ *thing throughout the whole collection, but*
 “ *what will lessen the character of the King,*
 “ *and offend all those, who wish well to his*
 “ *memory.* He thinks it very unfit to ex-
 “ *pose any man’s conversation and fami-*
 “ *liarity with his wife, but especially that*
 “ *King’s; for it was apparently his blind*
 “ *side, and his enemies gained great ad-*
 “ *vantage in shewing it.* But my Lord
 “ *hopes his friends will spare him; and*
 “ *therefore he has ordered me not to de-*
 “ *liver the book to the bookseller, but put*
 “ *it into your Lordship’s hands; and when*
 “ *you have read it, he knows you will*
 “ *be of his opinion.* If your Lordship has
 “ *not time to read it all, my Lord has*
 “ *turned down some leaves, where he*
 “ *makes his chief objections.* If your
 “ *Lordship sends any servant to town, I*
 “ *beg you would order him to call here*
 “ *for the book, and that you would take*
 “ *care about it.*

“ *Here is a hot discourse, that the war-*
 “ *rant is signed for my Lord Preston’s*
 “ *execution *; but I cannot believe it.*

“ My

* This passage determines the time, when this
 letter, which wants a date, was written; for it must
 have

" My Lord, I humbly beg your Lord-
ship's blessing ; and remain

" *Your most dutiful son,*

" *and humble servant,*

" Charles Hickman.

" To the Right Reverend the Lord
Bishop of *Rockester*, at *Bromley in Kent*."

I SHALL add one more example of the concealment of truths, which might reflect dishonour upon the memory of King *Charles I.* and this by an historian distinguished in general for the freedom of his pen. This writer is no less a man than Bishop *Burnet* ; who acknowledges, in the *History of his own time*†, that in the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, published in 1673, in folio, he had *concealed several things, that related to that King, and left out some passages, that were in his letters, in some of which was too much weak-*

have been between the 17th of *January*, 1690, on which day Lord *Preston* was condemned, and the 16th of *February*, before which his Lordship had earned his life, by *laying open all*, as Abp. *Tillotson* expressed it, in a letter to Mr. *Nelson*, cited in his *Life*, p. 237, 2d edit.

† Vol. I. p. 298. edit. 1724.

weakness, and in others too much craft and anger. But considering, that the manuscript of these *Memoirs* passed through the hands of King *Charles II.* and several of his ministers, before the publication *, such a suppression is not at all surprising. Nor could it have been well expected, that the historian, in such times and circumstances, should venture to relate at length a remarkable story, to which he evidently alludes in a passage of these *Memoirs* †; where, after mentioning that Lord *Loudon*, one of the deputies from *Scotland*, had been committed to the Tower, for subscribing, among others, a letter to the *French King*, written before the pacification between King *Charles I.* and the *Scots* in 1639, but never sent; he adds, “ There were some ill instruments about the King, who advised him “ to proceed capitally against *Loudon*, “ which is believed went wery far. But “ the Marquis [of *Hamilton*] opposed this “ vigorously; assuring the King, that, if “ it

* Life of Bishop *Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 683.

† Book III. p. 161.

“ it were done, *Scotland* was for ever
 “ lost.” But the particulars of this story
 will appear from a *memorandum*, written
 by Dr. *White Kennet*, then Bishop of
Peterborough, in the blank leaf of his
 copy of these *Memoirs*, now in the pos-
 session of the Hon. Mr. *Charles Yorke*, of
Lincoln's-Inn.

“ *Mem.* On *Thursday, Feb. 5, 1718-19,*
 “ Mr. *Frazier*, late secretary of Chelsea-
 “ college, paid me' a visit, with *John*
 “ *Chamberlayne*, Esq; and upon a discourse
 “ of *Scotland, &c.* told us this story, with
 “ very great assurance of the truth of it :
 “ That, soon after the publication of this
 “ book, he was in the company of several
 “ *English* peers ; when the author, Mr.
 “ *Burnet*, was then present. One of the
 “ noble peers charged him with having left
 “ out several things for fear of offending
 “ the court. Why, yes, [said] Mr. *Burnet*,
 “ I could not put down every thing I
 “ found in the papers committed to me,
 “ because some things would not bear
 “ telling. The Lord replied, *Truth should*
 “ be

“ *be told.* Yes, says Mr. *Burnet* ; but if
 “ this be truth, what do ye think of its
 “ being fit to be told ? ”

WHILE the Earl of *Loudon* lay prisoner in the Tower, King *Charles I.* in his passionate resentment against him, sent a warrant to Sir *William Balfour*, lieutenant of the Tower, to execute the prisoner for high treason the next morning. The lieutenant acquainted the Earl of *Loudon* with the warrant he had received, and desired his opinion how to avoid the execution of it. The Earl of *Loudon*, after a grievous complaint, that he had been very unjustly committed to that prison, and was to have his life barbarously taken away, earnestly desired *Balfour* to go to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and beg his advice and good offices in it. He went accordingly to court that evening, to find out the Marquis, but could not light upon him till his Majesty was gone to bed. The Marquis and the lieutenant came back to the chamber-door, and were much surprised to hear,
 that

that the King was in bed. After some waiting and fretting, one told Sir *William Balfour*, that, as lieutenant of the Tower, he had a privilege to knock at the King's chamber-door at any hour of the night, and so have admission to his Majesty. Upon which encouragement he did knock, till he was heard by the groom of the bed-chamber, who asked, *Who was there?* *Balfour* answered, The lieutenant of the Tower, upon business with the King. The King bade him let him in. He came, and fell on his knees at the bed-side, and begged to know, whether the warrant for the execution of *London* was legally obtained from his Majesty, and whether he could legally proceed in the execution it? using some arguments and entreaties for the recalling, at least the suspending of it. No, says the King, *the warrant is mine, and you shall obey it.* Upon which the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had stood at the door, stepped up, and fell likewise on his knees before the King, and begged, that he would not insist upon such an extraordinary

dinary resolution. The King seemed very peremptory in it; till the Marquis, in a way of taking leave, said to this effect: " Well then, if your Majesty be so determined, I'll go, and get ready to ride post for *Scotland* to-morrow morning; for I am sure before night the whole city will be in an uproar, and they'll come and pull your Majesty out of your palace. I'll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen, that I had no hand in it." The King was struck at this, and bid the Marquis call the lieutenant again; who coming back to the bed-side, the King said, *Give me the warrant*; and taking it, tore it in pieces.

Is this story now, said Mr. Burnet, *fit to be told?* All the company stood amazed, and held up their hands.

Hearing this story, says Mr. Frazier, with my own ears, I once related it to the late Duke of *Hamilton*, who was killed in a duel; and his Grace said, that

that he had often run over the papers, from which Dr. *Burnet* drew out his materials for this book, and he had them now in his custody in *Scotland*; and he well remembered, that there was such a relation there given, and that he verily believed it to be true.

F I N I S.



